

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

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News of the Week.

HUNGARY is avenged in England. Nothing can be more consolatory than the outburst of long-lent but hearty right feeling which the presence of Kossuth has aroused among us. We seem to feel the throbs of the great spirit which shook the despotic thrones of Europe two centuries ago. The welcome to Kossuth is a nobler vengeance than the assault upon Haynau.

High feelings, high convictions, high motives of political action, have animated the English people during the past week. At Winchester, Louis Kossuth showed his great force as an orator, and his great gifts as a statesman, by the clear, succinct sketch he gave of the history of the Hungarian cause. He completely adapted himself, his language, his method of speaking, to his audience. He spoke to England, and England understood and answered. On Monday morning, his bitterest opponents among the morning journals were forced to admit, at least, his ability. The Winchester speech is a masterpiece. Even Mr. Cobden stepped a little beyond the frigid boundaries of his non-intervention theory; clearly showing that, unless said non-intervention were perfectly carried out by all states, intervention, by protest or otherwise, was unavoidable on our part. Kossuth also spoke at Southampton, on Tuesday, and at the London Guildhall, on Thursday. The Southampton banquet is not noticeable so much for what he said, as for what his presence prompted others to say. The Honourable Mr. Walker emphatically promised succour from the Giant of the West, as Mr. Crosey, at Winchester, had intimated that the States might intervene in Europe. Very encouraging signs, these. And, as if to show how far and wide is spread this idea of a defensive and offensive alliance between England and America, we have had Sir Henry Bulwer, Minister from England to the United States, coupling the Red Cross and the Stripes and Stars as the banners of Liberty in the coming War of Opinion. Ominous words these. With what temper London is disposed to meet Kossuth the Absolutists have now had a taste: they will have ample evidence next week, when the Trades bodies and the Central Committee meet Kossuth in Copenhagen-fields. His progress on Thursday, from Eaton-place to the Guildhall, was a triumphal march: spontaneous crowds—spontaneous cheers—real, piercing, thrilling, generous British cheers, greeted him along the whole route. In the City, positive blocking up of the way, and an enthusiastic impromptu procession. The great hall, beneath whose roof have rung the voices of Hampden and Eliot, and Pym and Martin, and Ireton and Cromwell, the stronghold of municipal liberty two centuries ago, also vibrated with the sympathising voices of a trading aristocracy, made broadly human by a great cause and a great occasion. So it will be

[COUNTRY EDITION.]

in Birmingham, and Sheffield, and Manchester, and Liverpool—wherever Kossuth, who for the moment symbolizes continental freedom, sets his foot or raises his voice; and when he reaches America he is promised a welcome second only to the triumphal march of Lafayette from Texas to Maine, from New York to the Rocky Mountains.

By the bye, we observe a semi-pirouette on the part of the organ of the Foreign-office: the *Post* actually defending Kossuth from the *Times*! What will Russia say? Lord Palmerston is evidently trying the old diplomatic dodge: the next best thing to fairly fighting your opponent is to make him believe you are his friend. The converse rule applies when you desire to gull a dear public; pretend enmity to the man with whom you conspire. A humorous instance has just occurred. Prince Castelcicala is offered up a pretended sacrifice to the wrath of Palmerston, whose righteous nose is offended by the steaming odours of Neapolitan iniquity. Who replaces Castelcicala? Prince Carini, who comes hot from Madrid, the capital of that delectable country whose rulers have just published a singular concordat with the Pope. Is not Carini a fitting Minister to the Durham-Letter Cabinet, the heroes of the war of the Papal Aggression?

Lord Palmerston's political geography is perfectly astounding. When he wanted to rectify abuses at Naples he sent a copy of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet to Frankfurt; and now he has just invited France and Russia to help him in putting down brigandage in Greece; he being familiarly acquainted with the names of all the Greek brigands, and handing in a list thereof. Is he chief of the bands? Henceforth, in political geography, read:—Naples—capital, Frankfurt; Greece—capitals, St. Petersburg and Paris! As he is anxious to entrap Kossuth and champion Hungary, could he not invite the King of Timbuctoo to unite with him in a "vigorous protest"?

A modification of the Whig Ministry, however slight, creates a host of rumours—not of coup d'états, in England, but of coalitions. Mr. Benjamin Hawes, the hero of a hundred scandals, has resigned his post as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. Frederick Peel, an untired but promising young statesman, takes his place. Mr. Peel has been blamed by some for taking office under the Whigs; and others have looked upon his accession as evidence of a coalition to carry the new Reform Bill. The real secret, we imagine, is, that "Young Peel" is anxious to put to use the legacy left him by his great father—the precept to practise himself in public affairs. Peel himself accepted a minor stool in the Castlereagh Ministry, and surely "Young Peel" may take a post in the Russell Cabinet. Mr. Benjamin Hawes retires really into a snug corner in the War-office, vice Honourable Lawrence Sullivan, who conveniently feels disposed to enjoy private life, and a comfortable pension.

Meanwhile the Reform question comes up, and week by week symptoms are displayed of a popular movement. Mr. W. J. Fox has stirred up the People of Bury, and rendered a balance-sheet of the session to expectant Oldham; while Mr. John Houghton and Mr. Charles Lattimore, tenant-farmer Reformers, have been working the Liberal interest in the Russell-ridden town of Bedford. The most significant fact is, that Manchester has constituted itself the headquarters for a conference, to be held in December, of Lancashire and Yorkshire Liberals, whereto those potent districts may speak their mind on reform. Not at all before it is needed. Lancashire and Yorkshire might have moved before. They know the facts. The revelations of corruption now making at St. Alban's were not needed for them. There are "Sovereign Alleys" in plenty elsewhere. Nevertheless, let Wool and Cotton say a word to the Head of the "Family;" but we warn them that they are watched; the public will only laugh at any pretended agitation to support Lord John, or divert people from real reform.

Meanwhile, a streak of the light of socialism falls gently down upon the aristocratic Literary Institution of Highgate, where Mr. Harry Chester speaks favourably of an extension of the law of partnership, for the sake of working-men's associations; and Lord Shaftesbury would conjure some haunting presentiment of a coming revolution, by decided measures of social reform.

We chronicle elsewhere the predications of two considerable authorities on education. Archdeacon Denison endeavours to prove that a rate for secular education would be unjust, and a national scheme impossible. Unjust, because there is no analogy between an education rate and a rate for paving-stones. We may put aside a minority against clean ways, but not against secular instruction. Clean boots hurt no man's conscience; but somehow teaching the Rule of Three, without at the same time inculcating the doctrine of the Trinity, violates the consciences of men! While Archdeacon Denison so triumphantly disposes of his secular opponents, Dr. Willerforce informs the clergy that it is too late to decide whether the People of England shall be educated or not—for the People have decided that for themselves; all that is left for the clergy to settle is, what hold they can get over the training of the rising generation. Rather striking facts!

At length a new Ministry in France! But what a Ministry! All new men, or fourth—no, tenth-rate men. Shouts of laughter all over Paris; endless jokes and sneers from Royalist and Republican; but a deal of vexation and concentrated hatred at the bottom of it all. Only one man who takes a really sensible view of the crisis—Emile de Girardin, ever practical. He will accept the Ministry, take it at its word, help it as long as it is true to its professed aim, total repeal of the law

of the 31st of May; but no longer. Should the President play false and the Ministry flinch —!

The real fact is, that M. Bonaparte is not strong enough for the place. He has sadly bungled in this crisis of his fortune. He played his last card—no respectable backers visible. Lamartine, Girardin, Billault, Ducos, even, would not risk their reputation. He had not the courage to appoint a really working Ministry, on the American model, quite independent of Parliament—a simple executive, in fact,—but he patches up a mongrel cabinet, partly parliamentary and partly not. Well may people ask—is this serious? Again the destiny of France is in the hands of the army. Alas! not the People's fault this; but the crime of those who usurped the national sovereignty!

KOSSUTH'S WELCOME.

KOSSUTH AT WINCHESTER.

The English-hearted Mayor of Southampton, who has so bravely borne himself upon this great occasion, entertained Louis Kossuth in his private house near Winchester, on Saturday, where the noble exile met the principal members of the corporation, and several gentlemen and friends. Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P., and Mr. Cobden, M.P., were among the guests. Mr. Andrews himself proposed the toast, "The illustrious Kossuth."

M. Kossuth, amidst loud cheering, arose and replied. He poured out eloquent thanks to the Mayor of Southampton and the people of England. Then he described the political position of the Hungarian nation in former times; showing how she was surrounded by Turkey, Russia, and Austria—or rather, said he, the House of Hapsburg. How she enjoyed a free constitution, based on municipal institutions, and united only to the House of Hapsburg in so far as the head of that House was, de facto, King of Hungary. How the constitution of Hungary was aristocratic—that is, that there was a certain section, very large, called noble, whose members were privileged, but often poor, and forming, in reality, a portion of the people; and how there was another section, without any political rights, who were, in reality, serfs of the soil. And he described the bulwarks of liberty, and the media of progress, to be the municipal institutions and the Parliament of Hungary. The county meetings were the most powerful bulwarks of liberty, because no government order could get itself executed unless approved by the county meetings.

"Now," exclaimed Kossuth, "the house of Hapsburg ruled Hungary for 300 years. It ruled Hungary, not by conquest, but by the free choice of the nation—(cheers)—not by the free choice of the nation without conditions, but on the basis of treaties, the chief feature of which treaties is, that the monarch should reign in Hungary by the same lineal succession as in the dominions of the House of Austria; that the Austrian dynasty was recognized, and should remain Kings of Hungary, and thereupon the King took on himself a sacred duty, to respect and conserve the Hungarian constitution, and to rule and govern Hungary by its own public institutions according to its own ancient laws. And that was the duty of the King. He swore to God, he swore to the Eternal God, that he hoped He would so bless him as he should keep that word. (Loud cheers.) This was a résumé of the facts so far. Well, out of thirteen Kings—out of the thirteen Kings we had of this house and dynasty, no one who knows anything of history can charge me with exaggeration when I say that their rule was one of continual perjury."—(M. Kossuth spoke very earnestly and with emotion, dropping his voice so that the close of the sentence was not audible at the end of the table, and some person asked, "A rule of what?" He exclaimed—) "Of perjury, gentlemen—(loud cheers)—that is the word—perjury. (Cheers for some moments at his emphatic delivery of the word.) I am a plain, common man; I call things as they are."

Continuing his narrative, he told his delighted hearers that when the Hungarian nation chose its king from the House of Hapsburg, all the other provinces of the Hapsburg dynasty were constitutional monarchies; that since that period Austria had "gone on in a straight direction to be an absolute monarchy; and that before her late struggle with Hungary she had abolished every single constitution."

"Hungary had no other connection with Austria than Hanover had with England, with this difference only, that Hanover had a different line of succession, while the line of succession of Austria and Hungary was the same. But we had laws and coronation oaths and pacifications, which declare that there should be no connection between Hungary and the house of Austria but this, only to be ruled by the same sovereign, not that Hungary should have a right to be ruled by its own laws, rights, and institutions; so much so, that should we happen to have a king come to the succession of the sovereignty, being a child in his minority, Hungary should not be governed by the same person as ruled over the Austrian provinces, because there existed in the house of Hapsburg a family treaty by which the eldest of the house must be the tutor (i.e. regent) to the empire, but by the law in Hungary it must be a Palatine who rules as tutor of the King, and, therefore, there was this possibility, that a regent might have to govern Austria, while another regent was governing Hungary. Therefore, the constitutional life of Hungary was not absorbed, and chiefly

was not absorbed, because the municipal institutions—that strength which can never be broken—(cheers)—resisted the encroachments of the Crown. I consider these municipal institutions to resemble in a fair instance the siege of Saragossa, where, after Napoleon's army had taken the town, they still had to fight single battles in every street. (Cheers.) So was it always in Hungary."

He instanced cases of resistance to illegal decrees, and described in general terms the manoeuvres of Austria to put down the constitutional life of Hungary. It was this advance of despotism which they had been resisting for twenty-eight years. Since 1825 the direction of public life in Hungary has been by degrees to make the people participate in constitutional rights and liberties; and as the great majority of the nation were out of the pale of the constitution, and those who were within it were unable to defend the rights of the nation, the first step they took was to emancipate the peasantry. In this they were thwarted by Austria. The reform question in 1836 issued in a practical proposition, agreed to by both Houses, to the effect that when the landlord should give his consent to it every peasant, or corporation of peasants, should be free. But this Austria rejected. Attempts were then made to control the county meetings by corruption, intrigue, and cunning. To this end the Government devised a scheme for having an agent of the Lord Lieutenant, called an administrator, present at the county meetings to manage them and frame instructions to the deputies, while his superior was in his place in the Legislature. This scheme, if carried out, would have made the county meetings mere tools of Government.

"Therefore," said Kossuth, "we opposed it with all our possible strength; but we opposed it, not in any privileged view, but because we wished for the independence of the municipal institutions in order to carry out reforms in this direction; not to make the condition of Hungary such that there should be there no close privileges for a few, but to erect a temple of liberty there for all the people. (Loud cheers.) But the more we developed our progress in a view to reforms, the more the Government insisted on the progress to demoralize the people. That was our condition when the Diet met in November or October, 1847, just before the French Revolution. You see, then, that we in Hungary were not planning revolution. (Loud cheers.) Hungary was not the soul of secret conspiracy, but we in public meeting struggled fairly and openly for the rights of the people. (Loud cheers.) I myself had the honour to be elected member of Parliament in 1847, as deputy for the chief department, in fact, by its geographical position the metropolitan county of Pesth, where the Austrian Government did every thing possible to oppose my election; but the good sense of the people carried it out to a triumphant success."

Kossuth proposed that, until the system of administrators was done away with, no taxes should be voted. For two months the two Houses could not agree on this; and, as delay was ground gained by the Government, Kossuth proposed a daring remedy. We saw, he said, that the King of Hungary and the Emperor of Austria was the one head of two different systems—constitutional liberty and despotism. And he proposed that Hungary, as the elder brother of Austria, should go to the King and ask him to restore the constitutional liberties of the other portions of his dominions, and so by this means to put away the encumbrance placed on the constitutional rights of Hungary.

"And now the news of the French Revolution came upon us, and Vienna rose up in revolt—(loud cheers)—that was the Austrian Revolution. I myself, with a knowledge of all the circumstances of Europe before me, frankly own I decided not to be carried away by the elements, but to take the reins of the elements into my own hands—(cheers)—to avail myself to the utmost of the opportunity which God had given—not Hungary made. (Loud cheers.) Our first proposition now was for the emancipation of the peasantry, which was carried unanimously by both Houses. (Cheers.) But I was anxious not to hurt the interests of any class, but rather to spare those which, though not just in their origin, by time, circumstance, age, had got interlaced with the private fortunes of the people; and I therefore proposed, and it was agreed to unanimously, that the people should be free of all its duties—free without paying anything for it. Liberty must not be paid for—(loud cheers)—but, at the same time, there should be an indemnity, not by the peasantry, but for the landlords. Hungary is rich enough to give compensation and indemnity to the nobles, and by good financial operations might be made to pay more than two or three times what it does now. I engaged my honour and my word that a full indemnity should be given, and the measure was carried unanimously; the second measure I proposed was that, whereas before the people had every duty but no right, there should be an equality in duty and in rights, and that every man, according to his fortune, should contribute to the public necessities—this was also carried; the third proposition was, that the people should be admitted to the right of electing, not only members of Parliament, but the magistrates who administer the laws; but, of course, half a million of people could not be convoked together in one room, and, therefore, the personal, was transported to a representative, basis and every community was ordered to elect men to represent them in the county meetings. That being my chief directive principle—that I recognised the rights of men, the rights of families, the rights of communities, which I considered as not to be subjected to Parliamentary

interference.—Parliament has no right to direct me how I shall rule my own family if I do not interfere with the rights of other families, and the same is true of communities in matters which affect a kingdom. Government should have sufficient power to provide for the public necessities of the whole country, to uphold and enforce obedience to the laws; but it ought to have no power at all to encroach upon the rights of men, the rights of communities, or of municipalities in their own domestic matters; that was my ruling principle. We ordered the Government to prepare bills for the representation of the parishes; but it was not enough for me and for my friends to establish municipalities as a barrier against the Government. Seeing the evil effects of the Administrative College, which, as a commission, could not be made responsible, we determined that as, as had often happened, part of these councils had been modified according to circumstances, we resolved to modify it so that the responsibility which was provided in the Charter, but which was not a reality in effect, should be made real, and that could only be done by substituting individuals for collective and general bodies. There were some other measures, with the details of which I shall not abuse your attention. Thus we had participation of the nobles in all public duties and taxation, of the people in their general rights, and responsibility in Government."

He went to Vienna as one of a deputation, headed by the Archduke Palatine, to ask the King to sanction these propositions:—

"The agitation was then great in Vienna, as almost it was in every other country in Europe, save this England only, which, having once established its peace by revolution, can enjoy its public liberties without any desire for another. Here all was quiet,—on the Continent all was movement. The Government of Austria still hesitated to give us our rights. I went up to the Imperial Palace, and I told them there that, if the deputation was kept long waiting, I would not guarantee on myself what the consequences would be, or that the movement that was taking place would not reach Hungary if we were discomfited and disappointed in our just expectations, and I therefore entreated them to do us justice. They promised they would do so if only Vienna was quiet; but that they did not wish it to appear that the house of Hapsburg was compelled by its fears to be just and generous. (Cheers and laughter.) This was one of the moments in which I in my own humble person was a strange example of the various changes of human life. Myself, an humble unpretending son of modest Hungary, was in the condition that I had the existence of the house of Hapsburg and all its crowns here in my hand. (M. Kossuth here stretched out his arm with clinched fist across the table Tremendous cheering.) I told them 'Be just to my fatherland, and I will give you peace and tranquillity in Vienna.' They promised me to be just, and I gave them peace and tranquillity in Vienna in twenty-four hours; and before the Eternal God who will make responsible to Him my soul,—before history, the independent judge of men and events, I have a right to say the house of Hapsburg has to thank its existence to me. At last sanction was given; but while we received the promise of the King in one room, in the other room the Duchess Sophia, mother of the present King, and sister of Francis Joseph, was plotting with Metternich how to get rid of this word and sanction. In a few days afterwards the King, who was afterwards deposed, came to Presburg and sanctioned publicly our laws. I was there as a member of the Ministry, in which I was what you call First Lord of the Treasury, which I was forced to accept. I say so, because I can call the public knowledge of my nation,—my enemies in my nation as well as my friends,—that I always considered office and power as a burden and as no glory; but that it was myself who, before going up to Vienna with the laws for sanction, addressed to the people of Presburg (assembled below) from the balcony, taking Louis Batthyany, my poor friend, by the hand,—'Don't cheer myself. Here is the man who shall be who must be First Minister, President of Hungary;' but Batthyany refused to accept it, so I was forced to accept it; and I state this, because I see it is said in some papers that I made myself Minister."

Shortly after the Serbs and Croats, headed by Jellachich, and instigated by the Camarilla, at Vienna, revolted. The Parliament of Hungary demanded to be convoked.

"I stood by the side of the Archduke Palatine when he read the declaration of the king, that he solemnly condemned the damnable efforts of Jellachich, and of the Serbs, and Croats, and Wallachians, who had rebelled against the common liberty of the land, which they enjoyed, without any distinction of the language they might use, or the church to which they belonged. At that very time that the orders were given by the Ministers of Hungary to put down this revolt against the law, and that the king had convoked his faithful Parliament of Hungary, to provide as well for the army as for the financial means to defend and protect the realm; that was done; and in the convocation of the kingdom I saw one of the grandest sights of my life, when nearly 400 representatives rose as one man, and, stopping me in the address which I was making, declared, 'You shall have it—you shall have all you want.'"

But the victory of Novarra followed; Austria would not miss the occasion; Jellachich, the lately proclaimed traitor, was now lauded as the faithful servant of the Crown, and lent against the Hungarians. He was easily routed; but, obtaining a truce of two days, he escaped. An Imperial order now dissolved the Parliament unconstitutionally. The order was not accepted as legal, steps were taken to defend the country, and Jellachich pursued; but he had crossed the frontier, and joined the Austrian army.

"The Austrian army joined him—the siege of Vienna was made, and after that these two armies came into Hungary under the command of Windischgratz, calling us, and especially my humble self, rebels. We opposed us, we struggled, we fought battles; history will tell how—(cheers)—but still I must add one single thing, and that is, that though we had been victorious, defeated the Imperial armies in repeated battles, though the Emperor of Austria issued a proclamation, dated the 4th of March, 1849, when he, relying on the false report of the Camarilla of a victory in a battle that never was won, declared by one scratch of his pen that he blotted out Hungary from the list of nations, that that kingdom no more existed, that its constitution was torn up, and that Hungary was declared to be incorporated in the Austrian empire, and ruled according to the laws which his good pleasure would give; notwithstanding we had beaten our enemies—notwithstanding this proclamation which severed all ties between Austria and Hungary—still we did not even proclaim a rupture with the House of Hapsburg. When did I make the proposal no more to acknowledge the house of Hapsburg? When I got true and exact intelligence that the Russian intervention was decided on and had been accepted, and when I had got, I am sorry to say, the intelligence that in order to avoid this Russian intervention we had no help in the world—from nobody—no, not one—(Here, overcome by irrepressible emotion, the voice of M. Kossuth faltered, he burst into tears, and for some moments was incapable of proceeding, while a burst of sympathy broke from the assembly. As soon as he had recovered he proceeded, still agitated)—"then I considered matters in my conscience, and I came to the resolution that, either my nation must submit to the deadly stroke aimed at her life, or, if we were not cowards enough, not base enough to accept this suicide, it would not be amiss to put as the reward of our struggles—our fatal struggles—that which should have the merit of being worthy the sacrifice of the people; and if we had to contest with two great empires, if we had no one to help us, if we had no friend, and to contest in our struggles for the liberties of Europe, because now the Hungarian question rose Europe high—it assumed the dignity of an European question—if it was our fate to struggle for her liberties of Europe as once we had struggled for her Christianity, and if God should bless us, I proposed as a reward the independence of Hungary, and it was accepted. (Cheers.) That is the statement, the brief—no, not the brief, but the true statement of the relations between Hungary and Austria. What was the result? How we fell—let me not speak about it (after a pause)—that is a matter of too deep sorrow to dwell on. So much I can say, that, though forsaken by the whole world, I am to-day confident we would have been a match for the combined forces of these two despotical empires, but that it was my fault, and my debility that, I, the governor of Hungary, who had the lead of this great cause, had not faculties enough to match Russian diplomacy, which knew how to introduce treason into our camp—(cheers)—but had I been capable even to imagine all these intrigues we should not have fallen. As it is, you know the House of Hapsburg as a dynasty is gone; it exists no more—it merely vegetates. The Emperor can only act by the whim and will of his master, the Czar. If only the Czar would not threaten every portion of the world where the prayers for liberty rise up from the nation to Almighty God—if the people of England would only decide that the Russian should not put his foot on the nations of Europe—if England would but only say, Stop—and nothing more—the boast of Paskievitch, that he would put his foot on the neck of Hungary, would never be realized, and Hungary, I am sure, would have knowledge enough, truth enough, and courage enough, to dispose of its own domestic matters, as it is the sovereign right of every nation of the world—(loud cheers)—and to put down any aggression on her liberty. (Cheers.)"

After a few more words of gratitude and eulogy M. Kossuth resumed his seat amid rounds of cheers.

The company were then addressed by Lord Dudley Stuart and Mr. Cobden. The pith of the latter gentleman's speech lay in the opening. He said:—

"Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, I was rusticated in a neighbouring county, where I have been seeking some repose after the labours of a session more than usually laborious, and far more than usually unprofitable, and after labours of a more pleasing nature, such as entertaining friends come up to town to see the Exhibition, when I heard of M. Kossuth's arrival. I mention these facts, because it justifies me for not being on the spot to witness the reception given to our distinguished visitor. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, the moment I received, in my somewhat outlandish retirement, the news of his arrival in England, I started at once to pay him my humble respects. Not that I had any doubt about his reception at Southampton—not that I feared any want of zeal and enthusiasm among the people; but because I saw an attempt made by a portion of the press of this country upon a man who, after escaping the plots and snares of Austria, the scaffold, and the dangers of a barbarous climate, was about to visit our hospitable shores. I saw that an attempt was being made in England—hospitable England—to destroy, not the life, but what he valued more dearly—the reputation of this man; and from the moment I saw that dastardly attempt I determined to be here, to show these calumnies that, if these slanders reach his character, it shall be only through ourselves. (Loud cheers.) We owe this, not only to our illustrious guest and the country which he represents—not only to that great realm, America, whose guest I may still say he is, and whom I am here represented by its worthy Consul, but we owe it to ourselves—to every man who has a regard for the character of this nation, that we should come forward and vindicate ourselves from the charge of having a share in the most base and dastardly attempt that was

ever made to injure the character of any public man. (Loud cheers.)

The remainder of his speech contained his famous doctrine of non-intervention modified slightly. He explained non-intervention to mean, that no nation had a right to interfere in the domestic affairs of another nation, and that we should not permit, without a protest, acts of barbarism similar to the Russian invasion of Hungary.

Mr. Croskey spoke up for the Americans, who were, he said, partisans of non-intervention:—

"The time would come, if it had not already come, when the United States would be forced into taking more than an interest in European politics. When they should be so forced, he hoped they would still adhere to the advice of Washington, and, at the same time, require of other members of the great family of nations to adhere to the same doctrine. He hoped, when introduced into the arena of European politics, they would be introduced as the ally of England upon some such great constitutional cause as that of the independence of Hungary crushed by foreign intervention. Hand in hand with Great Britain, no combination of despotical Governments could reenact the terrible drama of placing the foot of absolutism upon the neck of national independence and constitutional freedom. (Loud cheers.)"

M. Kossuth again spoke and told a pretty story, with a view of illustrating the fact, that there are different ways of promoting the happiness and welfare of a people.

"It is reported that the Sultan Saladin, the gallant enemy of Richard Cœur de Lion, once met a Jew named Aaron, called 'the Wise'; Saladin said to him—'How is it that you, who are a wise man, do not change your religion and become either a Christian or a Mahomedan, as, though they differ in doctrines, they agree upon one principal point? Your religion teaches you to believe that God Almighty can only take to His bosom the members of your nation, whereas the Christian and Mahomedan religion teaches that, though there may be differences of faith among men, all may go, though by different ways, to heaven. (Cheers.) Why, therefore, do not you, who are known as a wise man, become a Christian or Mahomedan? Is not this a subject for your serious consideration?' Aaron answered and said, 'There was once a Shah, who had in his possession a most precious ring, among the stones of which was an opal which had this singular quality, that it rendered whatever man wore the ring agreeable before God and man. The Shah grew old, having three sons, all of whom he loved equally well, so that he was at a loss to which he should give this precious ring, which would make the possessor agreeable both before God and man. At length he called upon a cunning goldsmith, and told him to make two other rings so exactly like the one he then had that even he himself should not be able to distinguish one ring from the other. Upon his deathbed the Shah called his sons around him, and, presenting them with the three rings, told them that one of them had the attribute of making its possessor agreeable both before God and man. He knew not which ring was the true one, and fortune must decide; but he trusted that each would consider himself the possessor of it; so that to whosoever's lot it might fall, all would show by the propriety of their conduct that they were deserving of it."

He then eulogized both English and American institutions, and said:—

"I feel that it is not the living under a Government called a republic that will secure the liberties of the people, but that quite as just and honest laws may exist under a monarchy as under a republic. (Cheers.) If I wanted an illustration I need only, as I have done, examine the institutions of England and the United States, to show that under different forms of government equal liberty can and does exist—(cheers)—and I trust that the people will, in the fulness of time, show which is deserving to be the possessor of the 'real ring' by the propriety of their behaviour. (Cheers.)"

This elegant speech of Kossuth's finished up the entertainment.

AT SOUTHAMPTON.

The great banquet at Southampton took place on Tuesday. Kossuth arrived at the city of welcome from London about three, accompanied by many distinguished friends, and proceeded to the house of Mr. Croskey, the American Consul. Thence he proceeded to the town residence of the Mayor, where he received deputations and addresses from Sheffield, Durham, Sunderland, Leicester, and other places, to all of which he replied briefly. From the Mayor's house to the banquetting room he went in the Mayor's carriage. The streets were crowded with spectators. An authentic correspondent says, "The town was all alive." Kossuth and the Mayor alighted, and walked some distance through the people. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed. The Town-hall was decorated with flags and flowers. Places were reserved for the ladies; Mrs. Andrews, with Miss Croskey, the daughter of the American Consul, occupying posts of honour. Dinner was provided for two hundred. The Mayor presided in his robes of office, having the mace before him. On his right sat M. Kossuth, attired in a close-fitting frock coat with open sleeves, who, we are sorry to add, appeared to be in indifferent health. At the Mayor's table were Lord D. Stuart, M.P., Mr. Wyld, M.P., Alderman D. W. Wire, Colonel Lawrence United States, Mr. Croskey American Consul, Honourable Mr. Walker late Secretary to the Treasury United States, M. Pulszki,

Mr. E. E. Crowe, Mr. E. G. Salisbury, M. C. Gilpin, Mr. Deacon Town-clerk, Mr. Wilcox, M.P. for Southampton, Mr. Mangles, M.P., Mr. J. Cassell, Mr. G. Barrett, J.P., Samuel Adams, Esq., banker, &c. &c.

After the good things had been disposed of, the cloth removed, the Queen's health drunk with cheers, and "One cheer more for America," Prince Albert also being duly honoured; letters were read from Mr. Abbott Lawrence, who excused himself on the ground of ill health, and Captain Townshend, M.P., who regretted his own absence the more as a portion of the press had attempted to throw odium on the name of Kossuth.

Mr. O'Connor attempted to make acquaintance with Kossuth, twice during the evening, violating all the ordinary rules of courtesy in so doing, and being severely called to order by the Mayor. The toasts were given in the following order:—

"Long life and prosperity to his Highness the Sultan of Turkey."

"The President of the United States."

"Lord Palmerston and her Majesty's Ministers."

"The Borough Members."

These toasts were introduced pithily by the Mayor, and the last responded to by Mr. Wilcox, Sir Alexander Cockburn not appearing. More or less, also, these toasts were loudly applauded; but when the next fell from the lips of Mr. Andrews—

"The health of his Excellency Louis Kossuth"—the enthusiasm of the company went far beyond all ordinary expressions of satisfaction, and for several instants the whole party stood up in a body, cheering, waving handkerchiefs, and thumping the tables.

Kossuth's reply was full of grace and feeling. Unfortunately he was suffering considerably in body; but he spoke with his accustomed clearness and marvellous choice of language. The first sentences of his oration were praises of England and English institutions. He called it a paradise; and at the close of every sentence arose a deafening burst of cheers. And that England was so happy a place, he said, was because she was free.

"Well may the working classes of England be identified with the great principle of liberty, because without liberty there is no lasting social order. It is indispensable that every man should in full security enjoy the fruits of his own labour. Without liberty, obedience to the law cannot be insured, because when the lawgiver is a tyrant and a despot, obedience to the law reposes only on fear, but when the lawgivers are the people themselves, they will obey the laws, although they may be oppressive, because they know that within themselves is the power of modification. (Hear, hear.) Therefore I say, that without liberty there is no obedience to law. Without liberty there is no field for the productive labour of those who work. Without liberty there is no security for person and property. (Hear, hear.) And yet if it be not the aim of human nature to open a field for productive labour, to create security for person and property, to soften men's hearts and to develop men's minds, I do not know what the aim of human nature can be. (Hear, hear.) It is not without reason that all classes in England unite in expressing their sympathy with that principle which, under different forms of government, but under similar institutions, is the blessing, the glory, and the happiness of the English race in both hemispheres. (Loud cheers.)"

Applauding Free-trade, he said, that without liberty in Europe there could be no free intercourse, no Free-trade. Passing from this topic, his declaration that the "principle of all evil on the European Continent was the despotic and encroaching power of Russia," was received with hearty cheers. "There," said he, "is the rock which breaks every sigh for freedom on Europe's Continent!" He was a Protestant himself; but in Hungary civil and religious liberty had always flourished.

"It may suffice to say, that the freedom of Protestantism in Hungary was secured by laws, was secured by treaties on the maintenance of which the existence of the Hapsburg dynasty was made to depend. In 1848 this was included amongst other reforms; and scarcely had Russia raised the fallen house of Austria, by putting its foot on the neck of Hungary, when the first deed of the restored house was to destroy the rights of Protestant liberty in Hungary. And then, gentlemen, this is connected with another fact with respect to the Catholic Church. The kings of Hungary, in former times, were always anxious not to allow any power to meddle, and chiefly not to allow the Court of Rome to meddle in the temporal affairs of the Catholic Church in Hungary, so much so that one of our most glorious kings, Matthias Corvinus, an Hungarian by birth, seeing the encroachments of the Court of Rome on his rights, said to one of the popes, 'May you holiness remember that Hungary, which bears a double cross on her banners, has never endured that the Court of Rome should interfere with the liberty of the Hungarian people.' So anxious were the Hungarians in former times to secure their independence. And when the Emperor of Russia had succeeded in crushing Hungary, one of the first things that he did was to give the Jesuits of Rome full power to feed on Hungary—(hear, hear)—and with this he united the destruction of the autonomy of the Protestant Church. (Hear, hear.)"

Russian influence has increased since the Hungarian invasion, and Jesuitism has increased in power. It is Russia England meets at every step—on the Bosphorus, on the Nile, at Herat, in Pekin,

If Hungarian independence be not restored, this Russian influence will be redoubled.

"And what I request in the name of my poor country, and in the interest of all the oppressed nations in Europe, is not that England may draw its sword for the restoration of Hungary! Gentlemen, all I humbly request, wish, and hope, is that England may not abandon that right which in Europe is due to her—*(Hear, hear!)*—that England may not give a charter to the Czar to dispose of the destiny of Europe. *(Hear, hear.)* Public opinion in England can make it a living principle in acknowledging the natural right of every nation to dispose of itself—not to allow the Czar to interfere with the domestic concerns of whatever nation in Europe. *(Hear, hear.)* People of the mighty Albion, that is all—there is nothing else that oppressed humanity expects, entreats, and hopes for. As to the rest, leave it to the nations of Europe."

He touchingly referred to himself and his calumnies.

"My life is an open book. *(Cheers.)* It is history which will pronounce its judgment upon me, and neither Austrian hirelings, nor party spirit, nor blind passion, nor those base and absurd calumnies which, in my position, could not fail to be launched at me, though I am almost surprised to see these calumnies find their way into certain places in which I should not have expected to see them. *(Hear, hear.)* It may be that, relying on the fact that my people is a moral people—a people which never, never can be charged with having given its confidence or its love to a man who was not an honest man—it may be that, relying upon the testimony of my people, I shall not consider these calumnies. It may be that I shall entreat the protection of the law of England. *(Loud cheers.)* I will consider the matter as soon as my duties to my fatherland shall leave me a single moment to sacrifice to myself. Still I must say, that I sincerely regret to see that these calumnies have spread in England, not for my own self, because I believe they can but enhance the generous affection of generous men, it being natural to generous men to feel indignation at such calumnies; but I regret this, because it is no pleasing prospect for our humanity to see our fellow-creatures delighting in such matters. But still it is history which will pronounce its verdict on my public life. *(Hear, hear, and cheers.)* Humble as I am, I have had a public life, and, perhaps, I may have one yet. *(Loud cheers.)*

Finally, after showing that Hungary had a future while Austria had no future; after avowing his belief that there was vitality in Turkey yet, and that the maintenance of her power was necessary to England, he complained of suffering pain in the chest, and wound up with words of graceful thanks, proposing "England, Turkey, and the United States."

Colonel T. B. Lawrence, an attaché of the American Legation, responded. Lord Dudley Stuart delivered a short speech, coupling Hungary and Poland. The Reverend Mr. Wyld gave "The Constitutional Governments of England and the United States," to which Mr. Walker, United States, responded. America, he said, acted upon the principle of non-intervention. Let nations be slaves if they chose; let them be free if they chose, and let no external power come in to hinder them:—

"He desired now to indorse the sentiment of the American consul—and the people of America would be ready to indorse it too—that whilst they were opposed to any intervention in the concerns of other countries, the time might come when, if despots should combine to overthrow the liberties of any nation, the people of the United States would be prepared to unite with their ancestors. *(Loud cheers, amidst which Kossuth rose and gratefully acknowledged the tone of the speaker's remarks.)* These islands were, from their remarkable insular position, a sort of breakwater of liberty, between the American and the European continents, and the Americans felt that, if the surges of despotism were ever to break on their own shore, they must first overwhelm this country. *(Hear, hear.)* If, then, this alliance of despots, headed by Russia, which was the soul and body of the whole—*(hear, hear)*—should attempt to make war upon free Governments; if it should intimate to England, as it did to Hungary, that it must give up its free institutions; if it should say to England, 'Abandon your Queen, give up your throne, give up your Parliament, give up your trial by jury, give up your habeas corpus, give up all those great fundamental principles which mark you as a free people; if these tyrannous demands should ever be made, and the people of England should say to their relatives—for they felt that they were related to them in blood, and in language, and by a thousand endearing recollections of the glories of the past—*(cheers)*—and they would be related, too, as he believed looking at those two flags (pointing to the flags of the two nations in the room) by the still brighter glories of the future—and if this country should ever say to the United States, 'The time is come when the great conflict must commence between the principles of despotism and those of liberty'—a conflict which he believed was close at hand—*(hear, hear)*—there were millions of his countrymen who would delight to flock to the shores of Great Britain, and under its and their standard to overthrow despotism. *(Immense cheering.)* Why should England and America united fear the world in arms? *(Cheers.)* Was not the ocean theirs? Did not their commercial and naval marine amount to nine-tenths of the commercial and naval marine of the whole world? *(Hear, hear.)* But he would not boast of their power. All he would say was, that in America there were 4,000,000 of militia, and he believed that if the day which he had indicated should come, the vessels now built and those which would be created by such an

occasion, would not contain the millions who would rush to the rescue of liberty at the call of their forefathers. *(Loud cheers.)*

And he wound up by proposing "Louis Kossuth, the exile, without wealth or office, but more feared by despots than an army with banners." *(Great Applause.)*

Mr. Gilpin proposed "Municipal Institutions, the bulwarks of national independence." Several other toasts were drunk, and the company did not separate until a late hour. Kossuth left Southampton the same night for London.

AT THE GUILDHALL.

Kossuth's progress from Eaton-square to the Guildhall, on Thursday, was an unpremeditated ovation offered by the people. Crowds assembled at Eaton-square, crowds lined the streets, there was a large crowd at Charing-cross, where Kossuth said a few words to the people; all up the Strand were ranks, windows were filled with gazers, and as the procession passed slowly along the watchers nearer to the City heard the thrilling, unmistakable roar of a British crowd, mob if you like. In the City the multitude was so dense that the carriages were delayed. Here, even the *Times* admits, the crowd was very "respectable," and the cheering very hearty. Kossuth reached the Guildhall just before one o'clock. In the carriage with him were Lord Dudley Stuart, Mr. Gilpin, and Mr. Alderman Wire.

The Common Council Chamber was thronged, and the court full. When Kossuth entered there was a burst of cheering at once hearty and unanimous. The address was read by the Town-clerk, and presented to Kossuth, who pressed it expressively to his breast.

Kossuth, of course, replied by an oration. It was long, less impulsive, less eloquent than his Winchester and Southampton speeches; but it was clear, philosophic, and suited to the audience. There was the greatest reach of principle in it, but expressed in sober language; and the stuff of the oration was the principles of municipal institutions as illustrated that day. Two passages, however, we cannot pass by. The first points out how essential to freedom is an active interest in foreign affairs, and the consequence, abolition of secrecy in diplomacy.

"I confidently state that among all the interior questions of England there is not a single one which could outweigh in importance this question to the whole of England, and in regard to London, the metropolis of the world,—to London foreign affairs constitute a very question of life. *(Hear, hear.)* The city of London, aware of this position of being the metropolis of the world, and consequently aware of the necessity to watch attentively foreign affairs and the condition of foreign countries, has bestowed the benefit and the honour to be attentive to the cause of freedom. In consequence of this attention, you bestowed your interest upon the past struggles of Hungary, because you saw our cause to be just, righteous, and in harmony with those mighty interests which are embodied in the city of London; and, therefore, you united with your interest for the past your wishes for the future. And here, my Lord Mayor and gentlemen, you meet my first request. Let not these wishes, this sympathy, remain a barren word. You have the power to do so—give to oppressed humanity your helping hand. *(Cheers.)* I cannot forbear, having spoken some words on the importance of foreign affairs, and especially in respect to the city of London, stating, that I believe the time draws near when, for the whole world in the management of diplomacy, a radical change must take place. The basis of diplomacy has been secrecy; and there is the triumph of absolutism and the misfortune of a free people. I hope soon this will cease, and foreign affairs will be conducted by that power which must be the ruling one in a constitutional Government—public opinion. *(Hear, hear.)* I scarcely can see how it is possible that this principle of the secret of diplomacy got ground, not in England only, but throughout the whole world, when a question of a single penny of the national property could not be disposed of without the consent of the people. *(Hear, hear.)* How are the interests of the country guarded and carried out in respect of these foreign affairs? There is a secrecy which would be dangerous to the interests of the country and to constitutional liberty to develop. Not only that the people should not know how its interests are treated, but even after the time has passed they should be told, 'The dinner has been prepared and eaten, and the people have nothing to do but to digest the consequences.' *(Hear, hear, and laughter.)* What is the principle of all evil in Europe? The encroaching spirit of Russia. *(Hear, hear.)* And by what power has Russia become so mighty? By its arms? No; the arms of Russia are below those of many Powers. It has become almost omnipotent, at least very dangerous to liberty, by diplomatic intrigues. Now, against the secret intrigues of diplomacy there is no surer safeguard or more powerful counteraction than public opinion. *(Hear, hear.)*

The next is on the peace question and the limitation which an Exile of Hungary must place to the non-intervention theory.

"Such a city as London, with such immense industry and trade, wants the consolidated peace of Europe. Now, I think you will see the peace of the world is only possible when the nations of the world will be contented. The contentment of the nations is such a tree as only in the garden of liberty grows. *(Hear.)* So long as the nations of Europe shall not be free, so long there cannot be peace in Europe, because that would

not be peace, but a prison, and this fair world was not created by God to be a prison to humanity—*(Hear, hear)*—neither is it created for the gaoler's sake. *(Cheers.)* It is not long ago that a great association—the Peace Society—had a meeting here in London; humanity greets the existence of that society with hope. We will have peace, but a lasting and true peace, and not the principle of non-intervention. Could there be found a single man in the world to give such an interpretation to this principle of non-intervention, that whatever the Czar of Russia, or his satellite Hapsburg, should do with mankind and humanity, England would not care for it? This is not non-intervention; this is a letter of marque given to the Czar to become the master of the world. *(Hear, hear.)* The principle of non-intervention proclaimed even by the Peace Association has this meaning:—Every nation is free to dispose of its domestic concerns according as it is willing, and England should not interfere, and no foreign Power should dare to interfere, with this sovereign right of the nation. Oppressed humanity expects England to execute and safeguard this divine principle. Oppressed humanity expects, in the name of all those mighty principles I have had the honour to mention, London to take a lead in the direction of public opinion. *(Hear, hear.)*

Winding up energetically, M. Kossuth said a few things necessary for the citizens of London to hear:—

"Gentlemen, I will again and again repeat to you these words; I will repeat them with the faith of those martyrs of old, which has moved the hills and the mountains; I will concentrate all the fire of my sentiments, all the blood of my heart, all the energy of my mind, to raise these words high and loud, deep and solemn, till the almighty echo of the public opinion in repeating it becomes like the thundering trumpet before the sound of which the 'Jericho' of human oppression falls;—and, should this feeble frame succumb soon—should it succumb to the longing of my heart to see my fatherland independent and free, which longing, being everlasting in my feeble frame, as the captive lion beats his iron cage—even the grass which will grow out of my grave will cry out to Heaven and to man, 'England and America! do not forget in your proud security those who are oppressed. Do not grant a charter to the Czar to dispose of humanity. Do not grant a charter to the despots to drown liberty in Europe's blood. *(Cheers.)* Save the myriads who die would, and will, bleed; and, by not granting this charter, be the liberators of the world!' *(M. Kossuth then resumed his seat amidst loud and continued cheering.)*

On the motion of Mr. Norris, it was ordered that the address presented to M. Kossuth be fairly written out, emblazoned, and framed in the usual way, and presented to him.

After a few moments' pause M. Kossuth quitted the hall amidst renewed cheering, and returned to his house, cheered by all whom he encountered on the route.

INTIMATIONS FROM THE FOREIGN-OFFICE.

We cut the annexed paragraph from Lord Palmerston's organ, the *Post*:—

"In the *Times* of Wednesday the following paragraph occurred:—'It is stated on good authority that Lord Palmerston has caused it to be intimated to the ex-Governor of Hungary, that he is ready to grant him an interview of a non-official and private character, should M. Kossuth desire it, and that so far as he (Lord Palmerston) is concerned, he is rather desirous of seeing him than otherwise.'

"We see no reason to doubt that Lord Palmerston would be perfectly willing to see M. Kossuth, as he daily receives gentlemen of all nations and of all political opinions, saving only such as are known to be inimical to the maintenance of social order; but that the noble lord 'has caused it to be intimated' to M. Kossuth that 'he is ready to grant him an interview of a non-official and private character,' is a statement for which there is not the slightest foundation in fact."

Had Mr. Andrews read this "retort courteous" before the dinner of Tuesday, and the abusive leader side by side with it, possibly he and his duped friends would not have been quite so ready to applaud the Minister who would have released Kossuth long ago, had he obtained a concordat from Russia.

On Thursday, the *Post* has become Kossuth's vindicator against the *Times*. Singular, isn't it?

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Kossuth has accepted the demonstration offered by the working-classes, through the central committee. At first this was doubtful. A letter from Kossuth was received by the Chairman, on Monday, declining the demonstration, and informing the committee that it would be most agreeable and convenient to him to receive the address at his own house. To this announcement a reply was forwarded by the Chairman, intimating the disappointment of the committee, who really represented no party, but were delegates from the working-men and trades' associations of London; and a resolution was come to by the committee to hold a public meeting as near Eaton-square as possible, send a deputation with the address, and request Kossuth to come forth and speak to the meeting. That was the ultimatum of the committee on Monday night. By Wednesday, however, things had changed.

"Mr. Thornton Hunt, Chairman, in answer to a deli-

gate, who inquired whether any answer had been received from Kossuth to the request of the committee, forwarded to him on Tuesday, that he would attend a great public meeting of the working classes, stated that he had received an answer through a confidential messenger of Kossuth, who had fully informed him in all necessary particulars, and in a manner, he had no doubt, which would be satisfactory to the committee. In stating the purport of his information to the committee, he (the Chairman) wished to state that the formal letter of the committee had been accompanied by a private letter from himself, in which he had fully explained the motives of the committee, emphatically assuring him that it was not of a party character, as Kossuth had probably been led to believe. Kossuth had proposed an arrangement differing in some respects from that which had been suggested by the committee, who had requested him, after receiving the address, to return with the deputation to address a great public meeting held in the open air. Kossuth still wished to receive the address in private, at his own residence, where he would return a written answer, which the deputation could take the means of making public. It was impossible for Kossuth, going to the bad state of his health, arising from his captivity, and aggravated by the exertions which he had made in addressing public meetings since his arrival in England, to attempt to address a large open air meeting, but he would meet the wishes expressed by the committee so far as to address a few words to the people assembled, from the balcony of his residence; but he wished it distinctly to be understood that only those near him would be able to hear his voice. He would receive the address on Monday, as requested, if possible; but he had accepted an invitation from the Corporation of Birmingham, which might be fixed for that day; if not, he would give Monday to the committee, and inform them finally as early as possible. The Chairman then went on to say, that Kossuth regarded his reply to the address of the committee as one of the two most important replies which he should address to the people of England; the other of those two replies would be addressed in the town of Birmingham, as the reply to the Corporation of London would be of a more formal character. (Hear.) The reply to Birmingham would be an important declaration to the provincial population of the empire; and that to the committee an important declaration to the inhabitants of the metropolis. Under the circumstances which had met him on his arrival here, the former somewhat unsatisfactory nature of the replies made to the committee by Kossuth had been inevitable—not from important, but from trivial incidents, over which Kossuth had no control. (Hear, hear.) It was necessary to state that an attempt had been made to get up a counter demonstration on Thursday on the occasion of Kossuth's visit to the City; but when an inquiry had been made it was difficult to discover from what body or individual the demonstration had emanated; although there were good reasons to connect it with the name of a very amiable member of the peace association; but whose object undoubtedly was to draw off some of the warm blood which might otherwise attend the demonstration of Monday. (Hear, hear.) However, he, the Chairman, thought that as there would undoubtedly be a great gathering on Thursday, and as the various bodies who had made extensive preparations for a demonstration in connection with the invitation of the central committee, might wish to let the public see what they had done, there could be no reason why they should not join that demonstration; at the same time he enforced upon them the necessity of joining also the demonstration on Monday—at least, if held on that day—to make it as imposing as possible, not only in the eyes of Kossuth, but of the whole country, and the whole world. (Hear.)

This announcement was received with great enthusiasm. The Chairman intimated that a gentleman from Kossuth had just arrived and wished to address the committee.

"He stated that Kossuth, upon further consideration, having been led to fear that an impression had gone abroad that he intended a slight to the working-classes by declining their invitation, had come to a resolution to meet them at some public place; but owing to the weak state of his voice he would be compelled to give his principal answer in writing. Kossuth wished that a place might be selected for the meeting at some little distance from the metropolis, so that no noise might be made by the bourgeoisie, upon the grounds of any stoppage to business, arising from the gathering of a vast concourse of people in the public streets. (Hear, hear.) Kossuth recommended the selection of Wormwood-scrub, or some place of that sort, as the site of the meeting."

This being satisfactory, a long conversation followed as to the best place for holding the meeting, which ended in the selection of Copenhagen-fields; the proposition to form, as originally decided, in Russell-square, at eleven o'clock, and proceed to the place of meeting by Tottenham-court-road, along the Hampstead-road, High-street, Camden-town, and up the Camden-road to Copenhagen-house.

At the suggestion of the Chairman, Mr. Pettie moved the omission of the word "late" in the phrase late Governor of Hungary, in the address; and the meeting very heartily agreed so to that ornament the document.

RECEPTION OF KOSSUTH IN AMERICA.

In the United States (says the *Boston Evening Transcript*) preparations are making on a grand scale for the reception of Kossuth. The Executive authorities at Washington have sent orders on to New York for a salute and other manifestations of welcome from the United States' vessels at that port. The city authorities of New York are also making arrange-

ments of the most extensive kind to show honour due to the Hungarian patriot and exile. "We hope," says the *Transcript*, "that our own city Government will not be backward in tendering to the illustrious stranger every becoming token of welcome and respect. Baltimore and Philadelphia have already taken measures to do this."

"It is not merely as a Hungarian chief and statesman, bafled in 'Freedom's battle,' that Kossuth comes amongst us. He comes as the representative of the Republican and Democratic idea, throughout all Europe. Read his proclamations from the outset of the great Hungarian struggle, and you cannot doubt this. Whatever the *North American Review* and Mr. Orestes A. Brownson may say about the antirepublican character of the Hungarian contest, Kossuth, at a time when words were deeds, proclaimed to all Europe words and sentiments which admitted but of one construction, and that one was favourable to the eternal cause of human liberty and independence. He looked not only to the liberation of Hungary, but of Italy, Austria, Prussia, and every king-ridden country in Europe. In welcoming him, therefore, we welcome the cause of liberty and human rights, of which he has been the standard bearer and the ever eloquent champion. Kossuth is too good an English scholar—is too well versed in English and American literature and history, and is too well known as for years the admirer of our institutions—to admit of a doubt as to his good faith in desiring the establishment of a republic in Hungary."

ENGLISH SUBSIDY TO THE HUNGARIAN CAUSE.

The following most important letter, from Kossuth to Lord Dudley Stuart, appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* yesterday. The English people will appreciate its high-minded statesmanship.

"MY DEAR LORD,—You write to me that friends of mine—or rather I must believe of the cause of Hungary—of various shades of political opinion, have expressed to you their intention of subscribing to present me with a testimonial in acknowledgment of my humble endeavours. You add that, having understood me gratefully and respectfully to decline any similar tribute of a personal nature, the idea has suggested itself to you and to your friends, that I might not be unwilling to accept the generous aid of your countrymen in furthering in this country a due appreciation of the cause of Hungary, of the necessity and certainty of its restoration to independence, and in conveying to Hungary and Eastern Europe knowledge of the state of public opinion in these favoured lands, which must eventually achieve its independence. I can only say, my lord, that, able by my own exertions to secure my own independence, and consequently declining, with respect and gratitude, the personal tribute to which you have made allusion, I eagerly accept all contributions proffered to the cause my life has been devoted to uphold, and shall be spent in forwarding.—

"I am, &c., L. KOSSUTH.

"80, Eaton-place, October 30."

The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress entertained a party of private friends at dinner. Covers were laid in the Long Parlour for seventy. Amongst the guests present were Mr. Justice and Lady Talford, Alderman Wilson, Alderman and Mrs. Hooper, M. and Madame Kossuth, the Governor of the Bank of England and Mrs. Thompson Hankey, Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P., Alderman Salomons, M.P., Alderman Moon, Alderman and Mrs. Lawrence, Mr. Sheriff Cotterell, Mr. Sheriff Swift, M. and Madame Pulzski, Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. Chaplin, Mr. and Mrs. Delane, Mr. and Mrs. Garford, Mr. Gilpin, &c. &c.

M. Kossuth has accepted the invitation of the Ocean Steam Navigation Company of New York to take passage in the steamer Washington on the 13th of November, from Southampton. Mr. Iselin, the general agent of the New York and Havre Steam Navigation Company, has also offered a free passage to M. Kossuth and suite in the steamer Humboldt.

There have been meetings at Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, Canterbury, Hanley, and Newcastle; and in Clerkenwell and Shoreditch; at all which places addresses were agreed to.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

All the combinations having failed, Billault, and Ducos, and others, the President of the French Republic has, as we anticipated, appointed an extra parliamentary ministry. But that is not exactly the right term; for the ministry contains three representatives of the people. The names of these new officers are as follows:—

Justice.....	Corbin
Foreign Affairs.....	Turgot
Instruction.....	Charles Giraud
Justice.....	Thorigny
Commerce.....	Casabianca
Public Works.....	Lacroix
War.....	St. Arnaud
Marine.....	Fortoul
Finance.....	Blondel

Corbin is Procureur-General at Bourges. Thorigny was Advocate-General at Paris. Blondel is Inspector of Finances. Maupas is appointed Prefect of Police.

Of these gentlemen not one is known to fame. Of this Cabinet it may be said, that no one except the President puts any trust whatever in it. The per-

manent commission laughed outright when the names were read. The journals treat the new officials with alternate ridicule and wrath. The Legitimists, Orleanists, and Fusionists, declare themselves insulted. A "colourless Cabinet and not serious," cries the *Union*. "The policy of the President is simply to keep its place," says Alfred Nettement, in *L'Opinion Publique*. A Ministry with two programmes, one for the President's own use, and one for the majority—cry *L'Assemblée Nationale* and the *Journal des Débats*; in his Message M. Bonaparte will demand the total repeal of the law of May 31; his Ministry will propose a modification. The *Ordre* says the Cabinet is one more step in the region of "fantasy, arbitrary power, and adventure." The *National* mocks at the whole Ministry, and gives piquant sketches of their lives.

Alone the *Presse*, the *Pays*, and the *Constitutionnel* approve, though only the latter with any heartiness. The *Presse*, with its usual sagacity, sees the only statesmanlike course to be pursued.

Emile de Girardin makes the following decided and energetic statement of his resolve and position:—

"The Ministry, upon the express condition that it will be the Ministry of Total Repeal of the law of the 31st of May, may count upon the most energetic co-operation of *La Presse*; but this co-operation will change into avowed hostility on that day when total repeal shall be effaced to make room for simple modifications more or less large."

M. de Girardin states that, on the above condition, he is willing to adjourn several questions of great public importance; and he thus winds up:—

"Before the establishment of universal suffrage, every other question, even that of the revision of the constitution, becomes secondary for him; faults and grievances shall be consigned to silence; but this trace of opposition shall cease instantly, if the repeal of the law of the 31st of May be not totally, categorically, loyally, and energetically proposed by the Executive power."

The following extract from the letter of a correspondent in Paris, shadows out the conjectured course of events:—

"When the President's project of the simple repeal of the law of 1850 is presented, either by a Ministry of men taken from the Parliament, or by men quite new, it will be exposed to the risk of being rejected by an *Ordre du jour*, after only a few words to demonstrate its being inspired by a despicable selfish calculation. The party which will propose this *Ordre du jour*, will not fail at the same time to demand a guard, not to choose as its commander, Chagarnier or Lamoricière, so that we are, perhaps, exposed to events nearer than I believed some time ago. If the President consented to declare in his Message his positive renunciation of any candidature, every danger would be removed. But how hope for such a declaration from him?"

And so France waits upon the word of a Bonaparte!

Kinkel's escape, which lighted up our faces with joy about this time last year, was a mystery for a long time. The mystery is now cleared by a criminal court not of justice, but of Prussia.

The trial of a turnkey of the prison at Spandau, named Brune, and the landlord of a publichouse in the same place, Krüger, for assisting the escape of Professor Kinkel from the prison on the night of the 6th of November last, took place on the 21st, at the criminal court, says the Berlin correspondent of the *Times*. A student named Schurtz, was also included in the charge; but as he has fled the country, the evidence as against him was not taken. The proceedings excited considerable interest; though several political prisoners had escaped from the fortresses to which they had been consigned, it was not considered extraordinary, as within the walls they had a certain degree of freedom of movement, and could keep up a correspondence with persons outside the fort. But Kinkel, who had been convicted of treason, was in close confinement, and treated in every respect as a felon, wearing the convict dress, and having to spin wool as an occupation. He was rigidly watched, and his prison had been changed more than once as a precaution. The cell he inhabited was on the second stage of the building, in the interior; it had two grated windows, and was divided into two portions by a latticed screen. At night Kinkel was locked into the inside division, and the outer one was closed by two strong wooden doors fastened with iron. The two keys were deposited every evening with one of the chief officers of the prison. On the evening of the 6th of November, the cell was closed as usual; at half-past five o'clock the next morning, it was found empty. The outer door was locked, but the latticed screen and the inside door had been broken through. The prisoner must have had help from the outside, and suspicion fell on the turnkey Brune, who was immediately arrested. Kinkel, notwithstanding all the efforts of the police, escaped to England. The trial, it was expected, would throw some light on the manner in which the escape was effected, and it is, in fact, described in the admission made by the turnkey himself during the preliminary inquiry. He stated:—

"In the middle of October of last year, he was one day called out of the prison to speak to an unknown per-

son in the street. He first refused to go, but at last went out, and found a young man, who claimed acquaintance with him as a fellow-countryman, asked after Kinkel's health, and finally requested him to convey some letters to the prisoner. The young man was a student named Schurtz. He had many interviews with him afterwards, and at last he was offered 400 thalers and a provision for life if he would effect Kinkel's escape. He was on the other hand threatened with 'eternal persecution' if he divulged anything about the plan. At last he consented, M. Krüger having become guarantee for the reward to be paid him, and persuaded him that it was unjust M. Kinkel should be any longer confined. On the 28th of October, Schurtz proposed the plan. He was to obtain false keys to the inspector's room, and thus get possession of the two keys of the cell; he was then to accompany Kinkel to the outer door of the prison, and get the porter to let him pass into the street. He was first to gain over the man who would have the duty for the night of the 5th of November. After several vain attempts he succeeded in doing so, and the escape was fixed for the night of the 5th; but the plan was defeated by the accident of the inspector taking the keys of the cell home with him. The next night he got possession of them by opening the press in the inspector's office where they were kept; but instead of letting the prisoner out at the door, he took him through several workrooms to an ungrated window on the first floor. Schurtz was waiting in the street with a strong rope, which he pulled up to the window by a packthread; Kinkel tied it round his waist, and was thus lowered into the street."

In an after examination Brune denied he had ever actually received any money, asserting he had aided the escape out of mere humanity. One hundred and fifty-one thalers were found in his room, fifty of them in gold; but he produced evidence from the Savings Bank that the sum had been withdrawn from it, and belonged to his wife and son. The jury, however, did not believe he had been misled by his humane sentiments alone. The popular character of his avocation was against him—

"Seldom when
The steeléd gaoler is the friend of men;"

and it assumed he had been promised a bribe, if he had not actually received one.

The trial lasted till a late hour of the evening, when the jury, to the questions put by the court, found him guilty of wilfully assisting the escape of a State prisoner for a promised reward in money. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the House of Correction, and deprivation of civil rights; with a declaration of unfitness to hold any Government employment hereafter. Under the old penal code the punishment would have been more severe. Krüger was found guilty as an accessory; but the jury being divided, seven to five on the question, the court had to determine for a conviction or acquittal, and considering the evidence imperfect, discharged him.

The *Prussian Monitor* states that the German diet at Frankfurt has decided, upon the proposition of Prussia, that Old Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Posen, whose populations belong to the Polish race and which in 1848 were embodied into the German Confederation, are to be separated from it.

According to the *Prussian National Gazette*, the Sixth Russian corps, now located in Moscow and its environs, is to march next spring towards the frontier of Poland. Contracts for the food and forage of that corps have already been entered into. "This is a proof," says the *National Gazette*, "that Russia expects important events next year, and that the Czar does not wish to be taken by surprise. Should Russia be obliged to intervene, she would furnish 360,000 men (with 720 pieces of ordnance). In such case Poland would be occupied by new reserve brigades (formed of the Fifth and Sixth battalions of each of the seventy-two regiments), or by the corps of grenadiers and that of the guards, (both amounting to about 120,000 men, with 240 pieces of ordnance)."

The *Gazette of Breslau* informs us that the institution of Jury will be preserved in Austria, but that the juries will be selected by the Government. One monstrosity more to crown those which have preceded.

The *Times* publishes the following correspondence between the Prince Castelfidardo and Lord Palmerston, relative to the communication officially, by the former to the Foreign-office, of a pamphlet published in London in reply to Mr. Gladstone's letters to the Earl of Aberdeen:—

"PRINCE CASTELFIDARDO TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

"15, Princes-street, Cavendish-square, August 9.

"MY LORD,—In a report which appeared in the *Times* paper of yesterday of the sitting of the House of Commons. I have read by your Excellency, in answer to a question put by Sir De Lacy Evans, relative to some publications of Mr. Gladstone against the Government of the King my august master, said that you considered it your duty to send copies of the same to the British Ministers at the various Courts of Europe; and since a reply to the said publication, grounded upon substantial documents, has recently made its appearance, I have the honour to send fifteen copies to your Excellency, and therefore request your Excellency will take precisely the same means for their distribution as you have done for those of Mr. Gladstone.

"The known maxim, '*Audi alteram partem*,' the

"courtesy of your Excellency, and, in the present conjuncture, what is better, your justice, all lead me to hope that your Excellency will not find my request indiscreet."

"CASTELFIDARDO."

"VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO PRINCE CASTELFIDARDO.

"Foreign-office, August 18.

"PRINCE,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 9th instant, inclosing a copy of a pamphlet entitled *The Neapolitan Government and Mr. Gladstone*, and requesting that copies of that pamphlet may be forwarded to her Majesty's Ministers at the several European Courts. I have to state to you in reply that I must decline being accessory to the circulation of a pamphlet, which, in my opinion, does no credit to its writer or the Government which he defends, or to the political party of which he professes to be the champion.

"I should never have taken the liberty of addressing you on the subject of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, if you had not, by your letter of the 9th instant, rendered it necessary for me to do so, and I can assure you that it is not without pain and reluctance that I state to you my opinion in regard to those pamphlets and to the matters of which they treat; but I feel that silence on my part, after the receipt of your communication of the 9th, would expose me to misrepresentation. I feel myself, therefore, compelled to say that Mr. Gladstone's letters to Lord Aberdeen present an afflicting picture of a system of illegality, injustice, and cruelty practised by the officers and agents of the Government in the kingdom of Naples, such as might have been hoped would not have existed in any European country in the present days; and the information which has been received upon these matters from many other sources leads, unfortunately, to the conclusion that Mr. Gladstone by no means overstates the various evils which he describes, but that Mr. Gladstone's letters were evidently written and published, not, as the pamphlet which you send me insinuates, in a spirit of hostility to the King of Naples, or with feelings adverse to the parliamentary and monarchical constitution which his Sicilian Majesty has granted to his subjects and has confirmed by his Royal oath. Mr. Gladstone's object seems, on the contrary, to have been the friendly purpose of drawing public attention to, and of directing the force of public opinion upon, abuses which, if allowed to continue, must necessarily sap the foundation of the Neapolitan monarchy, and prepare the way for those violent revolutions which the resentments produced by a deep sense of long continued and widespread injustice are sure sooner or later to produce. It might have been hoped that the Neapolitan Government would have received those letters in the spirit in which they manifestly were written, and would have set to work earnestly and effectually to correct those manifold and grave abuses to which their attention has thus been drawn. It is obvious that by such a course the Neapolitan Government would do more to frustrate the designs of revolutionists, and to strengthen the monarchical institutions of their country, than could be effected by the most rigorous proceedings of the most vigilant Minister of the Police. But the Government of Naples will be much mistaken if it imagines that a pamphlet, consisting of a flimsy tissue of bare assertions and reckless denials, mixed up with coarse ribaldry and commonplace abuse of public men and political parties, will accomplish any useful purpose or render any real service to the Government on whose behalf it appears to have been written. And I must take leave to observe that there are admissions, direct and indirect, in Mr. MacFarlane's pamphlet, which go far to establish the conclusions which he professes an intention to overthrow.

PALMERSTON."

[It will be remarked, says the *Times*, that the letters above given were written as far back as the month of August; but we understand, from the person from whom we have received them, that it was only lately that they were made known to the diplomatic world.]

SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ITALY, AND THE PEOPLE OF PIEMONTE.

The following letter from a deputy of the Piedmontese Parliament appeared in a leading article of the *Progresso* of Turin of the 22nd current:—

"Dearest Sirs, Editors of the *Progresso*.—When I read in your and the other Liberal journals of Piedmont, that a Society of the Friends of Italy had been founded in London, I felt such satisfaction at the pleasant news, that I could not express it in words.

"I thought of Rome, of Naples, of Milan, of Venice, of our twenty millions of oppressed fellow-countrymen, and of the consolation which that news must afford them.

"The unfortunate who groans in the wretchedness of a prison, let but a kindly soul come and visit him, and say to him, 'Courage, friend, and hope,' and what comfort to the unfortunate in that good word 'friend'! when abandoned by all, and in the solitude of grief, amid insults and calumnies, to hear one say 'friend,' this is of itself an alleviation of the grief, a balm for the wounded soul, a blessing from Heaven. And if the comforting voice be that of one who is powerful, then the unfortunate would leap for joy, and, forgetting the sad reality of the present, would have a foretaste of the sweetness of deliverance.

"Such, I think, must be the consolation to our brethren in this announcement of the new Society. Poor brethren! And to be obliged to conceal your joy, to keep your gratitude shut up within your hearts, not to be able to send even one word of thanks to our friends!

"But you cannot do; Piedmont can, must, will. "Daily I have been expecting to read in the papers an invitation to the Piedmontese to thank, in the name of Italy, her friends of Great Britain. It has not yet appeared. Meanwhile, the English Society is daily gaining strength, and promises important results. The only parties, so far as I am aware, that have hitherto thanked

the Society, have been the brave workmen sent to London, and the Society of the Refugees. Is this enough? No; it is the duty of all Italy—a duty falling entire on that part of it which is not enslaved—to discharge this obligation.

"It is now time that some one should take the initiative, and remind Piedmont of her noble right, her sacred duty.

"Do you, therefore, write in the first page of your paper words to this effect:—'An address of thanks to the English Society of the Friends of Italy is now open for signature.'

"Ask the other journals to do likewise, ask the most distinguished citizens, both of the capital and the provinces, to constitute themselves collectors of such signatures. No Piedmontese, I will swear it, would refuse to sign; and in a short time we shall have got together thousands, and hundreds of thousands of names, which we shall send to London with this inscription at their head:—'To her friends in England, grateful Italy.'

"Yours, ROBECHI, Deputy."

In accordance with this suggestion, the editors of the *Progresso* announce that an address, conceived in the spirit indicated in the above letter, lies for signature at their office.

We are happy to state that Mr. Arthur Trevelyan has handed in £5 to the Society for the Relief of the Italian Refugees, desiring the same to be acknowledged in the *Leader*.

THE NEW REFORM BILL. MEETING AT BURY.

Public opinion is manifesting itself slowly in favour of reform. Mr. Fox, M.P., and Mr. Tindal Atkinson, as representatives of the National Parliamentary Reform Association, met the people of Bury on the 24th. Several influential members of the middle class were present, and the Town-hall was well filled with auditors. The resolutions were moved by gentlemen of the locality; Mr. Fox and Mr. Atkinson simply speaking in support of them. The name of Kosuth, mentioned by Mr. Fox, called forth a burst of cheers. Generally speaking, Mr. Fox's speech did not differ from the many speeches he has delivered in the cause of reform, except in the inexhaustible ingenuity with which he treats the ever recurring topics. We extract one happy characterisation. He denied that the members of the House of Commons were the choice of the people, and having shown whose choice they were, he asked where they were chosen?—

"By little places such as Thetford and Arundel, where a couple of hundred voters returned members to Parliament, while Manchester and Liverpool did no more. (Hear, hear.) The big and little were jumbled together without system, like looking through different ends of the telescope at them. It was as if you were looking at a flea and an elephant; one way the flea was as large as the elephant, the other way the elephant was as small as the flea. (Cheers and laughter.) And they were chosen by a septennial revel of the grossest corruption and debauchery. We talked of our constitution; why, if this was it, the banner of the British constitution was a bank-note, and its basis a beer-barrel. (Applause and laughter.)"

Both Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wrigley, an inhabitant of Bury, were in favour of more extended reform than that proposed by the National Association, but they accepted that as a practical measure. The resolutions agreed to were as follows:—

"That the First Minister of the Crown having intimated his intention to introduce a measure of Parliamentary Reform during the next session, the people should lose no time in giving effective expression to their wishes; this meeting doth therefore declare that any measure which does not rearrange the electoral districts, extend the franchise to every occupier of a tenement, protect a voter by the ballot, shorten the duration of Parliament, and abolish the property qualification required of members, will fail to satisfy the just expectations of the people—will be ineffectual in preventing the corruption, intimidation, and oppression now prevailing at elections, and in securing the full and free representation of the people in the Commons' House of Parliament; and "That the cordial union and energetic action of all reformers are now imperatively requisite. That the principles advocated by the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association merit the support of the great body of the people of this kingdom; and this meeting, consisting of reformers of every shade, pledge themselves to sustain the well directed efforts of that association."

Mr. W. J. Fox met his constituents in the Town-hall of Oldham, on Monday; and after a long oration, in which he reviewed the doings of the past session, commented on financial, economic-political, and educational schemes, and the coming reforms, he was rewarded by a resolution approving his parliamentary conduct, and pledging the liberals to his reelection. The meeting was very large. Amongst other things he said:—"Much of last session had been occupied with what ought never to have had a place in the House, theological discussions. It seemed at one time as if the Council of Trent had arisen from the dead to hold an aggregate meeting with a Praise-God Barebones Parliament." (Laughter.)

MEETING AT BEDFORD.

At the Reform meeting held at Bedford on Monday, the representatives of the National Association were Mr. Serle and Mr. E. Clarke. Mr. John Houghton and Mr. Lattimore, both tenant farmers,

were also present. The following resolution, somewhat vague in its terms, was carried unanimously:—

"That the present state of the representation is such as to render it the duty of every one aspiring to the progress of humanity to work for an effectual reform in the Commons House of Parliament."

The interpretation of this mystic and impractical resolution was given by Mr. Lattimore, and he explained reform to mean the programme of the National Association.

A meeting of the Council of the Manchester Parliamentary Reform Association was held at Manchester on Tuesday, Mr. George Wilson in the chair, and influentially attended, to consider the propriety of a Conference being held in reference to the measure of reform said to be contemplated by the Government. After a deliberation, in which great unanimity of sentiment prevailed, it was agreed, upon the motion of Mr. Bright, M.P., seconded by Mr. Kershaw, M.P., that the Prime Minister having announced it to be the intention of the Government to introduce a measure for the reform of the representation in the coming session of Parliament, this Council, complying with many urgent requests from various parts of the country, resolves to convene a meeting of the friends of reform, chiefly, though not exclusively, from Lancashire and Yorkshire, for the purpose of conferring on the steps which may be necessary to give due expression to public opinion, and thus to secure such a measure of reform as may be satisfactory to the country.

Arrangements were to be made, if possible, to hold the Conference in the first week of December.

INCREASE OF PAUPERISM IN MANCHESTER.

A document has been issued in the shape of a report, by Mr. Harrop, clerk to the Board of Guardians, showing some important results, imputed as consequences to the Irremovable Act of 1846. That act, which took away from the guardians the power of removing paupers after five years' "industrial residence," has had the effect of throwing a large and increasing permanent charge upon the local rates of towns like Manchester. To show this, Mr. Harrop compares the expenditure of 1846 in outdoor relief with that of the year ending September 1851. The comparison shows a total average increase over the year 1846 of 1212 families, and an increase in cost of £130, 10s. weekly. By an analysis of this total increase it appears that, while the English poor in receipt of outdoor relief have only increased from 2468 to 2624, or less than 7 per cent., and in amount by £7, 10s. per week, the Irish poor have increased from 427 to 1478 families, or above 300 per cent., and in amount by £132 per week, or £6864 per annum. "This enormous increase in our expenditure," says Mr. Harrop, "I am inclined to believe, is the direct and immediate consequence of the abolition of the power of removal, effected by the 9th and 10th Victoria, chap. 66, passed in the year 1846, and subsequent acts renewing the same."

Mr. Harrop states some other facts useful in connection with the question as to settlement and removal, which, it is rumoured, will be one of the great questions of next session. He says:—

"During the last few years the Poor-law Board have been causing extensive inquiries to be made throughout the country into the practical effect of the law of settlement, and the result has been most extensive reports, in one of the most able of which, however, it is stated that no confidence can be placed in the evidence obtained; showing thereby the difficulties surrounding the question. There is, however, much valuable matter in these reports, and much that may perhaps influence the Poor-law authorities in their recommendations to Parliament. There appears in some of them a tendency in favour of the abolition of the law of removal, rather, I think, from theoretical impressions than from practical proofs of the necessity for such an important change—a change which, if applied to Irish poor, it is greatly to be feared must inevitably result in a serious increase of Irish immigrants into every town in England, and an equally serious addition to the poor rates, even though new laws might be enacted, as appears to be suggested, to repress vagrancy, which laws would have the effect merely of filling the houses of correction instead of the workhouses, at a probably increased cost to the country. During the quarter last ended I caused to be prepared a variety of returns; with a view of placing before the Board the results of their proceedings as to relief generally, and with the view also to effect any alterations therein which might be deemed desirable. Among other matters, my attention was directed to the orders granted to applicants for relief, and I find that out of 1410 cases ordered from the respective relief boards to the workhouse, 576 refused such relief, and ceased to be chargeable; that out of 615 persons ordered to the house of industry to work, 365 refused to go there, and ceased to be chargeable; and that out of 264 persons ordered to the stone yard, 140 refused to go, and ceased to be chargeable. Hence, it will be seen, that one-half of the applicants for relief during the period I have referred to, refused the relief rather than work at employment found for them. Again, of the number of cases ordered to the workhouse, 220 were Irish, and 71 English families removable to their respective places of settlement; of these Irish families, three-fourths refused to be removed; and of the English, rather more than one-half refused, at the same time refusing to be chargeable, as above stated. This fact is

suggestive of the necessity for maturely considering the propriety of retaining the law of removal, especially as applying to Irish poor.

THE FAMINE LOANS.

Pending the ultimate decision of Parliament, the "Lords Commissioners" of the Treasury, have arrived at certain conclusion as to what Government is prepared to do with the Irish Unions, and the repayment of advances. "My Lords," having considered the memorials hold that "the present state of the greater part of Ireland, does not call for any relief from the operation of the act;" that they "cannot doubt, there are districts in which relief must be given;" that is, in districts where the ordinary rate is quite insufficient to meet the ordinary expenditure, and recourse is had to the rate in aid fund; that "with regard to postponement, my Lords are of opinion that such a course would only tend to prolong a feeling of uncertainty as to future payments;" that, as the great object is to restore confidence, "the demands of the Government ought to be definite, both in amount and also in time;" and therefore, "my Lords," think "that remission of payment, either altogether or to a certain extent, according to the circumstances of each district, is far preferable to postponing the payments;" but as the sanction of Parliament must be had to any definitive arrangement, "my Lords," are prepared to adopt the following course in anticipation of the measure to be submitted to Parliament.

"The Poor Law Commissioners in Ireland are authorised to direct the treasurer of any union in Ireland to retain in his hand any sum which he may have received from, or on account of an electoral division in which the expenditure for the relief of the poor, in the year ending September 29, 1851, has amounted to 4s. in the pound on the valuation then in force, and not to pay over to the Paymaster of Civil Services in Ireland the annuity due from such electoral division for the current year; and where the annuity for the current year added to such expenditure amounts for any electoral division to a sum exceeding 4s. in the pound, on such valuation, to pay over to the Paymaster of Civil Services such sum only, in respect of the annuity, as, together with the charge for relief of the poor in the past year, will amount to 4s. in the pound, and to retain the remainder in his own hands."

"Her Majesty's Government will propose to Parliament that the sum so retained in respect of the annuities due for the current year shall be entirely remitted."

EMIGRATION AND PAUPERISM.

The Irish "Exodus," as the emigration from that unhappy land has been fancifully called is, it seems, rather encouraged than otherwise, by the landowning class.

The *Monaghan Standard* states that a number of families have left that county during the past week, most of them farmers of the better class, and some labourers who had obtained money from relations settled in the United States.

The landlords and farmers in some electoral divisions of the Carlow Union are still engaged in sending out able-bodied paupers and their families to America. From the Fernan division, Queen's County, 148 paupers have embarked for St. John's, New Brunswick. All of them had been in the workhouse, chargeable to the estate of John Edyn, Esq., at an annual cost of £120 more than the entire expense of their emigration! The average charge for the emigration of each pauper is about £3. 6s. The cost of clothing and maintenance in the workhouse for each had been £4. 2s. 4d. per annum. Several other landlords, including Sir Charles Coote, Sir William Hort, Lord Congleton, and Mr. Pullard, are carrying out this principle of pauper emigration, as a mode of lessening the poor rates on their respective estates.

As a further illustration of the mode of administering the poor laws and dealing with pauperism, we give the following letter from Lord Bessborough to his tenants.

"Bessborough, October 3.

"I understand that the guardians of the Carlow Union have found it necessary to strike a rate of 6s. in the pound upon the Garryhill division. I regret this very much, but am not surprised at it; instead of receiving any assistance from the ratepayers in keeping down the rates, I have found that the more I did to lessen the rates the more they have done to increase them. I gave money to tenants unable to hold their land, on condition of their leaving the country. They were taken in as lodgers until their money was spent, and are now a charge upon the division. I have during the last four years given very extensive employment in draining, and found work for as many of the poor of the division as I could. The farmers, on the contrary, have generally employed strangers, many of whom are now chargeable upon them. They can, therefore, only blame themselves for the heavy rate they will now have to pay. If they would have listened to the repeated warnings which I have conveyed to them, their rate would now, probably, have not been one half of what it is. In addition to this, the ratepayers in Miltown and Straduff have been continually bringing strangers and lodgers, for many of whom the Garryhill division is now paying."

"If the farmers are anxious to lighten the rate, they had better at once discharge the strangers that they are employing and employ their own poor. If they do this, I shall be ready, also, to set some work on foot. If they do not, I am only wasting money in my endeavours to

assist them, and the result of a continuance in their present course must be a constantly increasing rate."

"BESSBOROUGH."

INTERNATIONAL DINNERS.—ENGLAND AND "THE STATES."

A Mr. Peabody, the gentleman who so magnificently kept the 4th of July, 1851, gave a farewell entertainment to the American Exhibitors at the London Coffee-house, on Monday. Lord Granville, Mr. Abbott Lawrance, Sir Henry Bulwer, Sir Charles Fox, and Sir Joseph Paxton, were the "notables" of the evening. But of all these Sir Henry Bulwer occupied the stump to the greatest advantage. He was warm and generous in his praises of America. As to the part she played in the Exhibition all he had to ask was, What impression had been made upon them with respect to the mind and character of America?

"In reply to such interrogatory he would state that, in all that pertains to the practical purposes of life—and he might say of death too—the United States certainly stood at the head of the poll. (Cheers.) Where should they find such pistols as Colt's, which would kill, he believed, eight enemies in a second?—a reaping machine, which would clear twenty acres of land in a day?—or where could they find locks superior to those of Mr. Hobbs? To proceed a little further, there was that graceful and melancholy statue which well fitted the chains and misfortunes of ancient Greece, which also recalled the preëminent power of sculpture, and, he might add, the preëminent genius of Powers. (Loud cheers.) But again, what was the small speck which they saw casting its shadow over the broad Atlantic? That little vessel had given the 'go by' to all the yachts in our own waters, and that too under the very eyes of a Sovereign whom we are proud to call the 'Mistress of the Seas.' (Loud cheers.) But he always spoke his mind, and he thought that if the Americans had given us a lesson in one way, we had also given them another. He had heard of a story of Fox, who, when asked one day what he thought of a young man who had made a capital first speech, replied that he did not like to judge a man after success, he would like to see him after a failure. Now, they (the Americans) had taught us how to win the race, and we had taught them how to bear the loss of one. (Laughter and cheers.)

He described the modern principles which controlled the diplomatic relations of the two states as consisting in a smoothing away of small and irritating differences; "whereas, all those great points of honour, sympathy, and ties which must ever connect two great nations which speak the same language, have the same origin, and which do the greatest amount of business with one another—those great points of opinions and sympathies he was for making as much and as widely known as possible. (Cheers.)"

The concluding passages of his speech are of some importance to us. We must remember, however, that they are uttered by a diplomatist.

When, the other day, he was signing the treaty by which England and America reciprocally guarantee the security of the means of transit, whether railway or canal, which unites the Atlantic with the Pacific, he felt that he was "assisting in laying the foundation of an enduring alliance between the two countries—an alliance which, unlike those of old, was formed, not for the purpose of securing advantage to one or other of the parties, but calculated to promote the interests of mankind."

"Feeling, as he did, such a deep interest in this alliance between the two countries, he could not help thinking that if ever there was a time when such a step was required, it was at the present time. Did they not see that the nations of the world were vibrating between two extremes? and was not some influence required which would moderate and regulate these motions? Where could such influences be found so safely and so securely as in a heartfelt good understanding and cordial union between Great Britain and the United States. (Cheers.) He knew that the Americans were Republicans, but what of that? (Cheers and laughter.) He had but small respect for names, and still less respect for that 'mock-turtle' constitutional kind of liberty which he saw elsewhere. (Cheers and laughter.) He did not care what name it might be called, but it was evidently made by bad cooks from calves' heads. (Renewed laughter.) The foundation of our society in the United States and Great Britain were religion and law—the purpose of both Governments was liberty and order. (Cheers.) Inasmuch as the Americans loved their Republicanism, let them detest all those principles of division and confusion which would destroy it; and inasmuch as Englishmen loved their Monarchy, let them prize and cherish all those principles which they know will preserve it from destruction. (Cheers.) A Socialist in the American Republic would be as popular as a favourer of the Divine right of kings in our own island. Hence it was that he was happy to see standing together side by side the President of the United States Republic and his Queen, Sovereign of these realms. (Cheers.) Standing, then, side by side, they also stood opposed to the anarchist who spoke as the 'friend of the People,' and the absolutist who spoke as the friend of the Crown. (Cheers.) Long, then, let us stand together as the champions of peace, moderation, and patriotism, among the nations of the world. (Cheers.) And if it should unfortunately happen that war ever should occur, and that war should be a war of opinion, let us still stand together—the red cross of England and the stars and stripes of America side by side, and he had no doubt that they would be able to leave recollections to their posterity which would be worthy of those they had received from theirs. (Loud cheers.)"

early operations next spring. I intended writing much more to you about your own two gallant ships, and their winter of almost unparalleled anxiety; but, as I wish to address a few lines to Judge Kane, I believe I must forbear, and refer you to my note to him, which I shall inclose and leave open. Captain Penny has studied the northern part of Wellington Channel with your names, and the names of our brave and generous allies in your ships. I am greatly pressed for time, having more writing than I can possibly get through.

"Believe me, my dear Mr. Grinnell, ever most truly and respectfully yours,
JANE FRANKLIN."

WYSOCKI, THE LEADER OF THE POLES IN HUNGARY.

Upon the ship which deposited Kossuth on the hospitable shores of England, more than one nationality was represented, and Poland numbered also some few of those of her most beloved sons, who, seeing no battlefield open to them on her subjugated soil, had flocked round the standard of Hungary, in order to fight against the common enemy of both nations.

General Joseph Wysocki, the gallant commander of the Polish Legion in the Hungarian service, with three of his fellow-countrymen, Colonel Przyjemski, Captain Luszkowski, and Lieutenant Kossak, his young and faithful Adjutant, all of them companions to the last of Kossuth's captivity in Asia Minor, have landed at Southampton on the same day as himself, and some few details concerning them will assuredly not be unwelcome to the British public, whose sympathies have so heartily greeted, so generously supported at their landing at Liverpool—the men and officers of that very Legion of which General Wysocki was the first organizer and chief.

After a few months of awakened hopes and deceitful liberty, Galicia lay prostrate again under the feet of the bombardier of Cracow; and those who had been allowed to arm themselves in defence of their rights which were those of their country, as well as the numerous youth who had flocked thither from the neighbouring provinces, expecting to join there the nucleus of a national army, were obliged to forego their hopes and to surrender their arms and themselves to the mercies of merciless and faithless Austria. They fled then to Hungary, which had raised the banner of Liberty; and the National Committee, then still existing at Lemberg, sent a deputation of three known patriots to Kossuth, one of whom was Joseph Wysocki, a Polish officer and refugee of 1831, a former member of the Central Committee of the Polish Democratic Society, who had availed himself of his long exile to study military science, at the School of Artillery and Military Engineering at Metz, where he acquired that skill and knowledge which soon enabled him to distinguish himself among the best leaders of the Hungarian army. His and his colleagues' instructions were, to offer to Hungary the fraternal alliance of the Polish nation, and to obtain from the Hungarian Government an authorization to form a legion of 20,000 Poles, who were to serve the cause of Hungarian independence, until it being conquered, they could fight for that of their own country. The number of Polish volunteers was every day increasing, and Wysocki spent all his energies in obtaining the permission of arming them. What reasons hindered the Government from according it, is not our object to enumerate. The fact was, that a permission was granted at last to organize a body of no more than two thousand men. The first battalion, from three to four hundred men strong, was sent as soon as formed to the siege of Arad, of which, on the first night of its arrival, it stormed the walls. The assault was repulsed; but the Polish Legion and its commander conquered the esteem of the whole beleaguering army. A letter of Kossuth to Lieutenant-Colonel Wysocki, now in the hands of the General, shows in what high esteem since then the Government held the Legion. Little by little it increased by the adjunction of several detachments formed in different places, and fought constantly in all the battles against the Austrians, from the River Theiss to Comorn, in the rescue of which fortress they took an active part. The Hungarian leaders did always full justice to their discipline and gallantry, and when they left Buda-Pesth for Miskolcz, where all the disseminated Polish detachments had received orders to meet, in order to form a single body, the whole Hungarian division occupying Buda reconducted them out of town with unfurled colours and a playing band.

After the Russians had entered Hungary, Wysocki was invested with the command of Upper Hungary, and thereby of the ninth and tenth armies. The Polish Legion belonged to the former, under the command of General Dzerzh, and since partook of all the hardships to which the Hungarians were incessantly subjected on their retreat to Temesvár, where the Legion performed its last, but not least, feat of arms. What since then was the fate of Hungary is too well known. After the treason of Görgei to the Russians, the Polish Legion retired on the Turkish territory.

There the Polish Legion did not forget that they were Democrats, and their leader a late member of the Polish Democratic Central Committee. Their duty was therefore not less theirs than it was that of their brothers and political coreligionists, whether in Europe or in America, in France, in England, as well as in the United States, and everywhere. In spite, therefore, of the influence of the Polish aristocracy, and of Russian and Austrian agents, who endeavoured vainly to raise against the suspicions of the Turkish Government, the Legion formed themselves into a section of the Polish Democratic Society, and entered into correspondence with its Central Committee in London. Those Poles who have landed at Southampton and Liverpool were the last remain of that Legion.

PERSONAL NEWS AND GOSSIP.

The Court is still at Windsor, where there has been a giving away of honours, orders, and stars.

Bloomerism, as will be seen elsewhere, has endeavoured to shine, but in vain, in the West. More successful by far was the Lecture of Mrs. T. C. Foster, at the Whittington Club on Monday.

Lord Carlisle has officially intimated that he will hear the charges against Mr. Ramshay, the notorious editor-imprisoned judge of the Liverpool County-court, on the 5th of November at the Court-house, Preston.

Mr. Benjamin Hawes has resigned the office he held of under Secretary of State for the Colonies and has been appointed under Secretary at War. Mr. Frederick Peel succeeds Mr. Hawes in the Colonial office.

Mr. Charles Lushington presided at a meeting at the Lecture-hall, Vauxhall-bridge-road, for the purpose of promoting the principles of popular progress and secular education through the medium of the Westminster and Pimlico People's Institute. A resolution to that effect was agreed to.

"Paul Cullen" has sent in a kind of adhesion to the Tenant-right League, and subscription of one pound.

The Duchess d'Angoulême will be buried in the Franciscan Convent at Gorb, where lie the remains of her husband and Charles X.

Professor Pellegrini, one of the members of the Provisional Government of Parma in 1848, and who has since occupied a chair of philosophy at Turin, died on the 18th instant.

An unprecedented occurrence (says a Jamaica paper) has taken place at St. Jago de la Vega. His Excellency the Governor, Sir Charles Edward Grey, K.G.C., has been assessed for taxes to the amount of £85, and having refused to pay the sum, and after repeated applications for payment by the collecting constable, his carriage was levied upon, and advertised in the *Jamaica Gazette*, by authority, for public sale to the highest and best bidder. The sale has not yet taken place; but, unless his excellency "paid up," it would inevitably occur.

The following piquant paragraph appeared in a morning contemporary, on the 29th instant:—"Berlin, October 25.—The King is expected at Potsdam to-day. The result of the hunting excursion was fifteen fallow deer, seven stags with antlers, 129 wild boars—of which the King of Prussia killed forty, and the King of Saxony an equal number. One of the huntsmen was gored by a wounded stag. M. de Bodelschwingh, Minister of Finance, has returned to Berlin. The Chambers will not be convoked before the 30th of November. The proposed reduction in the navigation dues upon the Elbe has been rejected."

The *American Union* chronicles a marriage between Apollonia Jagellon, the "Heroine of Hungary," and Major Tothman, the most "heroic of the Poles"!

Extraordinary stories sometimes get into the papers, and here is one of them. It is said to have been cut from a Carthagena, South America, paper. It is related by a traveller who lately visited Carthagena:—"I saw a lady this morning—for such I will call her, who is a perfect man and a perfect woman. She is partially deformed. She is rather tall in stature. Her features are neither masculine nor feminine. She walks and sits like a man. She shaves every other day—her beard being white does not show very plain. Her age is thirty-five. Her affection is that of a woman, tender-hearted and sympathetic. Her courage and resolution is that of a man, while her voice partakes of each. She charges the Almighty of doing wrong in giving her such a mysterious formation. She told me she was born in London—was a cousin to Queen Victoria. Under the advice of Queen Victoria, she dressed in men's clothes, and left the country at eighteen years of age. She possessed wealth—went to France—studied anatomy; from thence went to New York and practised medicine—married a wife—was the father of two children; two years after, lost her wife and property, and again assumed the female dress—married a man of some wealth—was mother of three children—parted from her husband and became a wanderer over the earth. She closed her narrative, while her tears flowed freely, by saying that she 'felt like Cain driven from the face of all men!'—*American Union*."

ANTI-STATE CHURCH MOVEMENT.

The Anti-State Church Association held its first winter soirée at the London Tavern on Monday. The large company assembled were addressed by the notabilities of the Association, and great hopes were expressed of a speedy realization of their objects. The efforts of the State Church to free herself from the state were recognized as signs of the general feeling against law-established Churches. The Reverend Mr. Burnett joked about the quarrels between Dr. Sumner and Dr. Philpotts; but the Reverend Mr. Price, of Gravesend, saw something serious in the movement for convocation and diocesan synods. The Reverend Mr. Rose, brought and bred up in the Church of England, spoke earnestly for separation, for freedom, for independence of the temporal powers. Mr. Edward Miall saw in the tendencies of the hour a decided approach towards the breaking up and abolition of the Church altogether. The following is the report:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Executive Committee feel that in enforcing these and kindred duties there never was a period when the fulfilment of them was so likely to be followed by a rich harvest of reward. The events occurring in the ecclesiastical world continue to operate as powerful auxiliaries in the contest in which we are engaged. The bosom of the Church Establishment in England still heaves with excitement and discontent. No palliations, no artifices, no compromises, no entreaties, have dispelled the fears or banished the dissatisfaction which, for the last three years, have filled

the breasts of many of the most earnest and most pious sons of the Church. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? where, in addition to the humiliating acknowledgment not to be evaded, that not one link has yet been struck off from the chain which holds that Church in bondage to the state, and that there is no prospect of any measure for quelling strife and banishing treachery, there has lately been made to the wide world a revelation of cupidity and of dishonesty on the part of ecclesiastical dignitaries such as could exist in no religious community in which the canker of worldliness had not already made fatal inroads.

"Thousands of our countrymen have been led by such incidents as these to examine for the first time, the nature and the pretensions of an institution which has been strongly built on the prejudices rather than on the reason of mankind, and these prejudices being thus rudely disturbed, the process of enlightenment will proceed with accelerated rapidity, until the common sense, the virtue, and the religion of the community will be arranged in resistless hostility against it. Help, then, fellow-labourers, now that increased help is twice needed, and will be doubly efficacious; and while, as circumstances render probable, your energies and your sympathies will during the approaching season be enlisted in agitating for an extension of political rights, bear in mind that religious liberty never can be complete until toleration has given place to equality by the total separation of the Church from the State."

CHANCERY REFORM.

A public meeting, convened by the Council of the Chancery Reform Association, was held on Wednesday evening in the Lecture-hall, Woolwich, to consider the evils of the practice of the Court of Chancery, and the necessity of abolishing its equity jurisdiction. Lord Erskine presided. He did not think that much had actually been done in the work of reform. What had been done showed that the Government had been operated upon by the force of public opinion, and gave the greatest encouragement to those who felt the importance of getting wholly rid of the monstrous evils connected with the administration of equity by the Court of Chancery. The Government was far behind the public on this question.

M. Meryweather Turner, Esq., moved the first resolution as follows, supporting it by a very lucid and powerful speech on the delay, cost, and vexation necessarily incident to a suit in Chancery:—"That though this meeting has no disposition to depreciate the value of the reforms recently effected in the practice of the courts of law and equity, and in giving an extended jurisdiction to the county courts, it is, nevertheless, deeply impressed with a conviction of the utter inadequacy of our jurisprudence and judicature to meet the wants of the community; and it is especially impressed with a sense of the hardship and ruin entailed upon thousands of her Majesty's subjects by the exclusive jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, and its cumbersome, dilatory, and costly forms of procedure." Lieutenant Walter, R.M., seconded the resolution, which was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. W. Carpenter, the honorary secretary, moved the second resolution, in a very able speech, in which he took a review of all the reforms and pretended reforms in the Chancery practice that had taken place within the last few years, insisting that a great fuss had been made in effecting almost nothing, the frightful system being still one of the most grinding instruments of oppression the world had ever seen. The *Times*, he said, had stated only a few days since, that in spite of the erection of the new appellate court, the reform of the Court of Chancery was a thing remaining to be effected. No one could doubt that; and he was fully satisfied, from a careful and laborious review of the history of that court for 400 years last past, the practice was quite incapable of improvement. It was essentially vicious in principle, and nothing short of what had been done in America, would satisfy the justice of the case; that is, the abolition of the equity jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, and the adoption of one uniform system of jurisprudence, administered upon intelligible principles, and at a small cost. (Hear.) Mr. Carpenter concluded a very eloquent speech by moving the following resolution:—"That the distinction between law and equity, and the separate and supreme jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, have no foundation in reason, and are productive only of uncertainty, vexation, delay, and expense; and this meeting highly approves of the course taken by the council of the Chancery Reform Association, in demanding the abolition of this arbitrary and vicious distinction, and the adoption of one uniform system of jurisprudence, and the exercise by the same tribunal of all the powers heretofore divided between the courts of common law and the courts of equity." The resolution having been seconded, was put and unanimously adopted. On the motion of Mr. Owens, a vote of thanks was then given to the noble Chairman, after which the meeting separated.

RAMSHAY ON VENTILATION.

Mr. Ramshay, Judge of the Liverpool County Court, took his seat as usual on Monday, and committed several solemn vagaries. Take one instance. His Honour observed that the windows were shut.

"Whose duty," he asked "is it to open these windows?"

Mr. Statham: The duty of the keeper of the court. The Judge: I gave an order of a general nature, that the windows were to be opened, and I am not to waste my time and the time of the court by these interruptions. I do maintain that my orders shall be punctually carried out. I shall mark by fine all improper conduct, whatever it may be. I shall in every instance inflict a fine, and a very severe one. I shall teach those parties who do not comply with the reasonable orders of this court, by such fines as will force attention to their duties. Here

we have been half suffocated during the last two hours this morning by the windows being closed. There are a great number of persons here, and I shall mark my sense of the disobedience very strongly, because I don't think it is the business of the Judge to waste his time with a matter such as this.

[The court-keeper, John Whiteside, then appeared.]

The Judge: Court-keeper, why didn't you open the windows?

The Keeper: I had no orders.

The Judge: Do you mean to say you had no orders?

The Keeper: I considered it was very cold this morning.

The Judge: Cold this morning, with a crowded court like this! I shall impose a fine of ten shillings for not attending to my orders, repeatedly given, on this subject. It must be very uncomfortable and unpleasant to every one in court. I shall inflict a fine of ten shillings for not attending to my orders on this subject, and teach you to attend to my orders in future, which have been now neglected without any justifiable ground whatever. I think fresh air is essential to life and health. I nearly lost my life by confinement in close courts, and I don't intend to risk it again. By keeping the windows closed you are endangering my health, and I consider that a serious matter. Enforce that fine, Mr. Statham.

ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTING THE REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

TO THE FRIENDS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.—You are actively, and in our opinion worthily, employed in doing honour to one who has struggled with all his might to preserve to the people of Hungary those blessings of constitutional government, which are still enjoyed under the mixed monarchy of England and the republic of the United States of America. And in this noble cause who are your active opponents? not the half-reformed House of Commons, nor the Lords, still less the Sovereign, but a number of persons who write anonymously in the *Times* newspaper.

You frequently end your meetings with groans for the *Times*; do you really, as practical men, think these groans of any use?

You should rather strike at the root of the evil, by setting the press free. The penny stamp makes it impossible for a second daily paper to exist, which has not other resources than the support of the public. The following table shows the extent to which the *Times* has succeeded in absorbing the daily press:—

	1837.	1845.	1846.	1850.
{ Morning Chron.	1,910,000	1,551,000	1,556,000	912,547
{ Evening Chron.	320,000	134,000	93,000	—
{ Morning Herald	1,928,000	2,018,025	1,752,000	1,133,000
{ Standard	1,233,000	846,000	780,000	492,000
{ St. James's Chron.	657,000	611,000	593,500	451,000
{ Morning Post	755,000	1,300,500	1,450,000	828,000
{ Daily News	—	—	3,520,500	1,132,000
{ Express	—	—	160,000	765,950
{ Morn. Advertiser	1,380,000	1,440,000	1,480,000	1,519,813
{ Globe	851,000	852,000	754,000	585,000
{ Sun	794,000	1,098,500	1,104,000	813,500
{ True Sun	398,000	—	—	—
Total, exclusive of the Times..	10,216,000	9,734,025	13,053,500	8,719,810
{ Times	3,665,037	8,106,000	8,950,000	11,900,000
{ Evening Mail	318,000	545,000	540,000	650,000
	3,983,000	8,651,000	9,490,000	12,550,000
Grand Total.	13,629,000	18,379,025	22,543,500	21,269,810

The circulation of the daily press, exclusive of the *Times*, in 1850 was less than in 1837 by a million and a half; while the circulation of the *Times*, which in 1837 was less than one quarter of the whole, is now more than one half.

In this dark shadow there is one gleam of light. The *Daily News* while it sold at threepence had a circulation of three millions and a half, of which three millions were purchased by persons who never took—as is shown by the increase for that year amounting to 3,300,000—a daily paper before. Nor is the gap filled up which was caused by its rise in price.

It is clear, therefore, that there is no fair field for any increase in the number of fivepenny papers; but that for papers at a lower price there is a field open in England as well as in Belgium and America.

Should the stamp continue ten years longer, we may expect to lose all our morning papers but the *Times* and the *Advertiser*; by taking off the stamp a field will be opened which will enable us to have a daily press dependent only on the public.

If, then, you really love constitutional Government, recollect that the freedom of the press is essential to its preservation, and demand the repeal of the penny stamp and of all taxes on knowledge.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Commission, appointed under the act of last session, for inquiring into the bribery committed at the last election for St. Alban's, began its sittings this week. Strange facts have come to light, and afford some insight into electioneering practices. Mr. Bell, M.P., declared his intention of doing all he could to forward the inquiry. He indirectly furnished money, some £2700, in packets of 500 sovereigns to the election agent, for "election expenses." He was not at all mixed up in the bribery process. On Wednesday a new turn was given to the whole investigation by the evidence of the notorious Edwards. He confessed that he had bribed largely; he was told that he must inform the Commission whom he bribed. For some moments he hesitated; but the menace of imprisonment for life made him give way. A strange scene was then acted. The Commissioners reading the register of voters,

and Edwards stating whom out of the names of those read aloud he had bribed and for how much. The result of this reading was that two out of three had received bribes, and nine out of ten from Edwards himself. The ordinary sum given for a vote was £5.

The fifth annual meeting of the Midland Association of Mechanics' Institutions was held at Lincoln, on Tuesday, October 28. After the transaction of the usual business, the delegates dined together at the Great Northern Hotel. The Earl of Yarborough presided, supported by the Earl of Carlisle, the Honourable Mr. Monson, &c. &c. In the evening there was a general soiree at the Corn-exchange. The Earl of Yarborough again presided. The meeting was numerously attended, and was addressed by the Earl of Carlisle, Honourable Mr. Monson, Messrs. George Dawson of Birmingham, F. Hollings of Leicester, — Madeley of Derby, and many other gentlemen.

The progress of what is called "mixed education" in Ireland, is one of the consolatory facts of the day. It is not long since a favourable report of the examinations at the Newry School was issued, and now we have another from the Baillieborough district, in the county of Cavan.

The *Cork Reporter* thus refers to the circumstances under which the new session of the Queen's Colleges has been opened:—"We have been much gratified by finding that the entrances at the Examination at Queen's College, just now closed, being the first for the present session, have fully shown the unabated progress of public opinion in favour of that most useful institution. There have been added to the rolls of the college for the new class, no less than thirty-eight students, of whom twenty are Roman Catholics; and, as we understand, including the sons of some of the most distinguished and important Roman Catholic families in this province. Equally gratifying is the fact, which, we believe, is indubitable, that, notwithstanding the peculiar influences most strenuously exerted in certain quarters, to detach from the college the Roman Catholic students previously entered, such has been the confidence felt by the public in the system of education pursued in it, that not a single instance has occurred of a student having been withdrawn on religious grounds. We are most happy to report also for Galway College, the wonderfully successful entrance, this month, of twenty-eight students.

The mail steam-ship *Africa* struck on a reef of rocks off Belfast Lough, on Saturday last, in a fog. She was obliged to put back to Liverpool. The passengers drew up a statement exonerating Captain Ryrie from all blame, and speaking of his conduct in high terms.

An old man named Rollinson was committed for trial at Clare, in Suffolk, on Tuesday, charged with killing Anne Cornell by administering arsenic to her; and also attempting the life of his daughter in-law by the same means. The body had been buried and was disinterred for examination. Rollinson had bought arsenic; the chemist's assistant seemed to think nothing of selling that poison to anybody who spoke of "rats and mice."

A man named Archibald Hare was hung at Glasgow on the 24th instant, for the murder of Ronald M-Gregor, in August last. He died with great firmness and spoke from the drop as follows:—"Fellow-men, I am doing to die for a crime of which I am innocent, but I pray God to forgive all those who have persecuted me. All of you beware of dram-drinking, and beware of Matthew Miller, and take warning by me this day to keep out of bad company, and to put your confidence in the Lord, for he will never leave you. He has given me grace this day, and I care no more for death than any person going to his bed this night, for I have found favour with Christ Jesus our Lord."

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 19th of October, at Woodlands, near Taunton, the wife of the Honourable Charles Napier, of a daughter.

On the 23rd, at Westover, Isle of Wight, the lady of the Honourable William A'Court Holmes, of a son.

On the 24th, at Grosvenor-street, the lady of Dr. Latham, of a daughter.

On the 24th, at Malines, in Belgium, the wife of Captain Deppe, Adjutant-Major of the Belgian Artillery, of a daughter.

On the 26th, at Churston-court, the lady of John Yarde Buller, Esq., of a daughter.

On the 26th, at Fitzroy-square, the wife of Colonel George R. Pemberton, Honourable East India Company's Service, of a son.

On the 28th, the lady of the Reverend Dr. Mortimer, headmaster of the City of London School, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 16th of October, at Paris, at the Church of the Madeleine, a day afterwards at the British Embassy, the Colonel Count de Septuill, to Lady Horatia Capel, sister of the Earl of Essex.

On the 21st, at St. Pancras Church, Elven Frederick Stewart, R.N., to Letitia, third daughter of Mark Pitt, Esq.

On the 24th, at Salcombe, Devonshire, Lieutenant-Colonel Stretton, Fortieth Regiment, of Lenton-priory, Nottinghamshire, to the Honourable Catharine Adelaide de Courcy, youngest daughter of the late, and sister of the present, Right Honourable Lord Kinale, of Ringmore-house, Devonshire.

On the 25th, at B-dfont, Middlesex, by his brother, the Reverend Alfred Hamilton, Alexander Hamilton, Esq., of Inistoge, county Kilkenny, to Emma, fourth daughter of the Lord Chief Baron.

DEATHS.

On the 21st of October, at Florence, Lady Maria Howard, youngest daughter of the Earl and Countess of Wicklow.

On the 22nd, Sir James Whalley Smythe Gardiner, Baronet, of Roche-court, Hants, aged sixty-six.

On the 23rd, at her house, in Grosvenor-square, Katharine Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Mornington, in the ninety-second year of her age.

On the 23rd, at Scarborough, Edmond George, the infant son of Mr. and Lady Caroline Duncombe.

On the 24th, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, after a short but severe illness, Sarah, the beloved and affectionate wife of Thomas Buckland, of Easton-square, London, in the fortieth year of her age.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

Several letters have been received by our publisher complaining of the non-arrival of papers, or the non-arrival of the *Leader* until Monday. We have made inquiry, and find that the error have not arisen in our office. The Country Edition of the *Leader* is published on Friday, and the Town Edition on the Saturday, and Subscribers should be careful to specify which edition they wish to receive. Complaints of irregularity should be made to the particular news-agent supplying the paper, and if any difficulty should occur again it will be set right on application direct to our office, 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

In reply to inquiries we may state that the Office of the *Friends of Italy* is No. 10, Southampton-street, Strand.

All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

[The following appeared in our Second Edition of last week.]

Postscript.

SATURDAY, October 25.

October 25, 1851.

MY DEAR HOOPER.—We have seen Kossuth. We found him this morning, at Southampton, in the house of the hospitable and patriotic Andrews; who seems to me, verily, to have been the first man to break out in this new and most welcome burst of national feeling—after the good old English style—that Kossuth's arrival has awakened.

Kossuth was surrounded by eager friends—Hungarians, Londoners, men from distant towns, who seemed ready to tear him in pieces, in their desire to have him amongst them; and so to convert him by a summary process of enthusiastic worship, at once into relics. Nevertheless, he received the deputation from the central committee with the most courteous and kind attention. His portrait are sufficiently like for one to recognise him without the slightest hesitation; but not one of them does him justice. He has none of their theatrical aspect; they have none of that earnest animation, of that firmness, that almost womanly gentleness which mingles so remarkably with manly fire and prompt decisive action, indicated both by his speech and gesture. While he is in manners the most winning of all the men that I have seen—and you are first struck with a fascinating affectionateness in his address—the second thing that strikes you is the perfect self-possession of the man. He does what he means, all that he means, and nothing else. He speaks—to us in English. At first the alien words came slowly to his tongue; but he chooses them with singular fitness; as he proceeds you are struck with the clear, lucid, unbroken march of the thoughts; for he thinks as closely as he speaks. He enters upon each section of his subject with marked deliberation; but proceeds without hesitation, and lends himself to his subject with a daring vigour, and a pace that increases as he proceeds. He is not carried away by his subject, but gives it his like a bold and confident horseman that knows how to trust both himself and his steed. I was introduced by an Hungarian friend, and when I introduced Nicholls and DeLaforce he shook hands with them most courteously and cordially. He makes every man feel that his individuality is recognised. I am sure my colleagues shared the feelings that took possession of me—of profound respect for that unconquered leader of his country, of personal affection for one who seemed to borrow from influence only so much the greater power to express his sympathy with his fellow-man. No one who has spoken with him can wonder at the power which he exercises over his countrymen. In his reply to the deputation I was struck with the true statesmanlike purpose that dictated every word. He spoke, with frankness and force, of his strong sympathy with the people; himself sprung from them, his political career devoted to elevating their condition. But received so hospitably by the English nation without distinction of party or class, it would not be becoming in him, he said, to make distinctions in party or class. His mission, too, must be, to keep foremost in view the rescue of that country to which his life was devoted. He desired a metropolitan opportunity—during this, his first brief visit to England—of stating his view; which is, to procure the establishment of a great Association to support the cause of Hungary. He desires this country to enforce the doctrine of non-intervention, fully and honestly—not only to abstain from interfering, but to insist that

The Reader.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1851.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—**DR. ARNOLD.**

KOSSUTH AND THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

THE chosen Governor of the Hungarians has complied with the wish of the English People to see him face to face, to hear his voice. He will receive the address of the Central Committee, on Monday next, in a room at Copenhagen-house; afterwards he will come forth and address a few words to the assembled multitude. He is obliged to speak briefly: his voice, never powerful, except in its persuasiveness, has been enfeebled by his protracted captivity, his patriotic anxieties; and since his arrival in England he has been too lavish of it, even in comparatively private gatherings. "You must not," said an Hungarian in his confidence to the Chairman of the Central Committee, "you must not kill him." Heaven forbid! It would be too great a service to Austria and Russia.

On his first arrival in this country, Kossuth was the game hunted by whole packs of eager politicians, anxious to get the first word of him. We did not share that anxiety. We saw that possession was supposed to be taken of him by circles whose notion of political sagacity is, to hush up genuine national feeling, to turn the struggles of nations into commonplace periods for half public dinners, and to treat Hungary as Poland has been treated by the "Literary friends of Poland"—to make it the subject for a charitable incorporated thesis. We saw that officials, of the very highest rank, were baiting overtures to the Hungarian with the very same hinted promises which had inveigled Sicily; we saw that Kossuth himself had somewhat mistaken the constitution of English political society, and had taken the corporations for a real embodiment of the People, for a political power.

But we had no fear. We knew that his object was national; and we knew that he must address the nation. It cannot be addressed through bureaux or Mayors; and we knew that he would soon discover that fact. Lord Mayor Musgrove is not more identical with "England" than is Lord Palmerston. You do not address England through either of them; and we felt sure that his practised eye would soon find it out.

Kossuth desires to avoid parties; but if he had stuck to the Guildhall, or let himself be inveigled into the parlours of Downing-street, he would have fallen into something smaller than parties—into cliques. The People can only be addressed directly. The working classes are not to be found in Guildhalls or thirty-shilling banquets. If they are not "the People," still less are the neutral-tinted moneyed classes the Nation. Indeed the nearest resemblance to a "municipality" of the working classes is their own Trades Unions.

Kossuth has discerned the realities. His voice will go direct to the heart of the People. He has avoided party, and the People respects his resolve. Party divisions are forgotten as he approaches. The influence which he is winning is acknowledged even by his opponents: the Leading Journal, however sensitive on the score of Austrian stock, which is dreadfully damaged in the Money Market, begins to mitigate its rancour; the quasi-official *Post* defends the Hungarian against the aggression of the commercial paper. The *Nation*, in all classes responds to his appeal; and the journals, behind the public in learning that fact, are discovering their false position.

Doubts, false rumours, and diversions have contributed, in many cases, have deliberately been employed, to cripple the demonstration on Monday; but we believe the bulk of the working classes can be as little diverted from their purpose as the Governor of Hungary has been.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1852—MORE SIGNS.

"Not one to help us—no, not one," said Kossuth, of that brave fight which his country waged against the united armies of the two immense empires

other states abstain from meddling in the internal affairs of any country. That, without a drop of English blood or a shilling of English treasure would suffice to set the nations free. He accepted our attentions with thanks; but he put it to me to say whether the banquet, proposed by the central committee, would furnish the opportunity that he had forecast to himself? I could not vouch for it—I could not promise that a banquet originating with the Working People would be joined by the leading men of other classes; I felt shame and sorrow at the divisions of my country, incapable of national action. I told him of these divisions; told him that, to speak to all, he must address himself to the divided halves; and expressed my belief that it might be his glorious mission, by thus doing, to reunite us—that, by his glorious and undeniable appeal to nationality, he might restore our sense of nationality; and, declining to advise him, submitting to him what information I could, I begged of him to consult his friends—advisers who knew both him and us. He promised to send his answer.

Whatever it be, I came away impressed with the conviction that his coming would be a blessing to us—that it would restore, as it has done in Southampton, that feeling of nationality which will unite our divided parties and classes, and enable us Englishmen, in standing by Hungary, to learn once more the habit of standing by each other.—Ever, my dear brother-workman, your affectionate

THORNTON HUNT.

The morning papers, speaking generally of that wide field of print, present a curious contrasted union of great facts and great figments: the journals are engaged in a combined attack upon Kossuth and his career; in the same pages they are reporting the spontaneous expression of welcome and encouragement which is bursting forth from every part of the country—from every class—from trades' associations and political bodies—from the municipalities—in short, from the nation. There has not been since the Reform Bill—we do not except even the anti-corn-law move—anything so combined, so spontaneous, so decisive, and so vivid an expression of feeling on the part of the nation.

The idea of an association, thrown out by Kossuth, exactly of the practical and definite kind suited to English understanding and habits. The demand that he makes upon this country—complete non-intervention—exactly meets the conviction and feeling of the immense majority. We say that complete non-intervention does so, but to this subject we shall return next week.

The English people, especially the labouring classes, cordially welcome the idea to which Kossuth has given his adhesion—the alliance of the Peoples. They already tested it. The arrival of the Hungarian recalls to their minds a leader who has won their respect, and who has long been endeared to their regard. As he becomes more acquainted with the people, Kossuth will find, as we can vouch from personal knowledge, that there is at present no name so thoroughly respected, so trusted, so welcomed with a feeling of long affection, as that of Joseph Mazzini. To show that Mazzini touches for a thing, is to satisfy the people of this country. As to what journals have said on that point—Kossuth can judge of our journals. We speak from personal knowledge of the people face to face. They welcome Kossuth as the Hungarian Mazzini.

Kossuth proceeded yesterday to the house of the Mayor of Southampton, near Winchester. Great were the rejoicing at all the villages, and an ovation at Winchester.

There was some speaking at the house of the spirited Mayor of Southampton. We register the last words of the speech of Mr. Andrews. They contain the very pith of English heartiness and English sympathy. He, the Mayor, had received threatening letters for his reception of Kossuth, but he disregarded them, and declared that so long as he had a home Kossuth should have shelter, and as long as he had existence Kossuth should share it. (Loud cheers.) Honour to right hearty English Richard Andrews!

The Leeds Town Council, at a special meeting held on Thursday, agreed to an address to the illustrious Hungarian patriot, Kossuth, on his arrival in this country. The address was carried unanimously. Also Coventry met on Wednesday, in St. Mary's-hall, and agreed that an address should be presented to Kossuth.

The following note from Louis Kossuth to Mr. Toulmin Smith is conclusive as to one fact:—

Southampton, October 24, 1851.

"DEAR SIR,—In reply to your note, I beg leave to assure you that the name of the *Baroness von Beck* is utterly unknown to me. There was a person named *Beck* employed by my Government as a spy, whom I saw twice in my life, and gave special instructions to as a spy. That is all I know about her.—I am, Sir, with the highest regard, your obedient servant,

"L. KOSSUTH."

The treaty of the Submarine Telegraph Company has been signed by the Minister of the Interior.

On Monday night, the 13th instant, about thirty armed poachers were pursuing their nightly occupation on land at Rufford, belonging to the Earl of Scarborough, when they were encountered by the keepers and watchers, eight in number, who, anticipating the encounter, were all armed with flails made purposely for their use. The result of the fray was that one of the keepers was killed and several wounded.

Austria and Russia. Not one, in that bad year! Hungary was waging the war of National Freedom, and not one of the free nations, whose cause was at stake,—whose own future is threatened by the steady advance of the "Holy Alliance,"—not one then stood forward to help Hungary.

Italy would have done so, had not—. But let us not speak of the past now—only of the future. Italy is strong in life, in generosity, and in hope.

And Hungary will not be "alone" next time. No, the Peoples now know their common interest. The English People is awakening to a sense of the shameful and insidious part which its own Government played in 1848, and we do begin to hope that the Government will no more be permitted to subserve the cause of Absolutism. And America is rousing herself.

Events are advancing rapidly. Proofs of the assiduity exerted on both sides, on that of the "Holy Alliance" of 1815, and that of the Peoples, now come to us, in thickening numbers, from both sides of the Atlantic. America is beginning to take as much interest in the movement as we do. The Paris correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*, a gentleman of much experience and ability, writes thus:—

"That great events are just before us is certain. That crisis of which I have often spoken to you is drawing very near. Between the 16th day of September and the middle or end of next May, the destinies of Europe for probably half a century—which in these days is a very long—will be decided. A fierce struggle—it may be a most desperate and bloody struggle—between liberty, civil and religious, on the one hand, and hoary despotism in politics and religion on the other. What will be the issue, God alone knows.

"I find that there is a wonderful activity here in the political world. The foreign Ambassadors, especially those of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, have frequent conferences, and are constantly sending and receiving despatches. Nor are the Ministers resident of the smaller Powers, such as Sardinia, Naples, Spain, the States of the Church, Belgium, and Holland, idle. Those of England and the United States are wide awake, and the former has not a little to do to look after these Continental States, and the movements of their rulers."

This was six or seven weeks ago; but the activity has increased; and the meaning of it is rendered more distinct by the intimation in the *Times*. "It is scarcely too much to affirm," says that journal, "that the aspect and policy of the Continental Powers has already been modified and shaken" by "the fall of M. Léon Faucher":—

"The leading statesman seen in this design of the President an anticipation of the dreadful crisis of 1852; they see a diminution of the hopes once entertained, that the crisis might be legally and peacefully terminated by obtaining the assent of the Assembly to the revision of the constitution; they believe that the chances of success and ascendancy which come next in order to those of Louis Napoleon are not the claims of General Changarnier as a Parliamentary chief, or those of the Prince de Joinville as the representative of a spurious monarchy, but those of the Red Republic, and they anticipate with more certainty and with stronger apprehensions, that the time is not far distant when the principles they have succeeded in restoring by their armies at home must be supported by their armies abroad.

"In short, both in Prussia and in Austria, in spite of the overwhelming burden of the military establishments, the aspect of affairs in France is held to be sufficiently ominous to prohibit any reduction of the forces; and, on the contrary, these armies, in conjunction with the troops of the whole Confederation, are constantly increasing in strength and efficiency. The incalculable trust confided by the will of the French people to Louis Napoleon is, not only that of the order and good government of their own country, which they are free to dispose of at their pleasure, but it likewise involves the peace and tranquillity of Europe. . . . The continent of Europe stands in arms, not against France, nor against Louis Napoleon, but against the uncertain and the unknown which lies beyond him."

The *Military Journal of Prussia* indicates that much more use will be made of forts than in the last war—partly because Napoleon's idea of having superseded them has been exploded by newer science, partly because the war is now to be directed by Governments "mostly against internal foes"—the Peoples. Paris is already provided with forts—"those excellent positions, if there is a good commander in every fort"; Austria is busy in Italy,—everywhere: "wherever we look, spade and trowel are labouring against future balls." In short, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, with all the minor Powers, are completing their immense preparations to crush the revolution or

1852. The President of France they may support—or any portion of France which can be set up in Paris, to coerce the rest of the nation, and use its "Government" on the side of the Holy Alliance.

Never has the world seen such a force as that which is now to be used, as one, against the Peoples of the world—never. Millions of men constitute the armies of Absolutism,—armies not like the hordes of Xerxes, not hordes of Goths, of Tartars, or of India conquerors, diluted and burdened with camp followers; but all fighting men, officered, armed, and disciplined according to the newest science. But there is a weakness both without and within. Within, there is some bankrupt decay—in Prussia bankrupt prestige, in Austria, sheer money bankruptcy. "The mercantile advices from Vienna," says the *Times* in the sacred column which is devoted to truth—the "Money Market" column—"mention that the general condition of the money market remains without the slightest sign of improvement. There was no mitigation of the unfavourable rate of exchange, and it is said that it would most probably have gone much higher but for the surveillance of the Government, which keeps all persons in dread of buying foreign bills to any extent that might excite remark." A Government afraid to let people "buy foreign bills,"—and yet obliged to keep up immense armies! Russia alone is strong, rich within, and ever advancing, to the West and to the South.

But there is a weakness in these empires, though it lies outside the conspiracy. The Peoples are against them,—and this time not disunited. The cause of Hungary is now known to be the cause of Italy, of France, of Germany, of the Iberian peninsula; and Hungary knows it. Hungary will not be alone this time, nor will she isolate herself.

And, how stands America? Watchful and prepared. The idea of action in Europe, at which some of our friends have laughed as an "imagination," is becoming familiar to the American mind. We have seen what the Boston paper says. We have seen how Americans are keeping watch for the New York papers. The *New York Herald* discloses a plot in which France has been deputed to pick a quarrel with the United States, to afford an opening for a general war, in which the powers of Europe, supporting France or rather President Bonaparte, shall make a combined attack to crush the young republic. Cuba was to have been the pretext. In this paper—which, be its matter true or not, discloses the feeling—the English Foreign Minister is denounced as "the farthest-sighted enemy of genuine liberty which the triumphs of February in France and Europe have produced." Our own private letters attest the fact of a growing interest. But at the Southampton Banquet, the Honourable Mr. Walker may be said to have spoken the voice of his nation.

"If," he said, "Despots should combine to overthrow the liberties of any nation, the People of the United States would be prepared to unite with their ancestors." "If this alliance of Despots, headed by Russia, which was the soul and body of the whole"

[Let the words be noted—let them be wafted through all the British dominions, throughout the American Republic, and noted emphatically, for they are the plain, out-spoken words of a momentous truth.]

"If this alliance of Despots, headed by Russia, which was the soul and body of the whole, should attempt to make war upon free governments"—

[As it will, as it has done.] "And if this country should ever say to the United States, 'The time is come when the great conflict must commence between the principles of despotism and those of liberty,' a conflict which he believed was close at hand, THERE WERE MILLIONS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN WHO WOULD DELIGHT TO FLOCK TO THE SHORES OF BRITAIN, AND UNDER ITS AND THEIR STANDARD TO OVERTHROW DESPOTISM."

And what is the reply made to this declaration, before an assemblage of "middle-class" Englishmen, said to be so lost to manly feeling and the old national spirit—what is their response?

"IMMENSE CHEERING." Ay, the spirit was only slumbering. England is not to be hushed off for ever—not for ever will she lend her power to a secret and insidious diplomacy. Neither she nor America will wait till they are assailed. The conflict is close at hand. Both America and England see the gigantic conspiracy, with the Great Bear at its head, which is stretching its vast machinations from the Baltic to Affghan-

istan, from the Carpathians to the Atlantic—they see it; and they are not slow to perceive that the battle of Free Nationality against the despots is to be fought on the field of Europe.

REFORM PROSPECTS.

W. J. Fox continues to support with spirit the life that he has given to the Parliamentary Reform movement. We are not satisfied with the details of the Parliamentary Reform scheme; but we like the spirit in which the agitation is pursued; and Mr. Fox's clear manly voice gives the spirit worthy utterance. Some of his antitheses deserve to be struck in lasting metal.

Thetford and Arundel equal Manchester and Liverpool in Parliamentary representation—their members chosen "by a septennial revel of the grossest corruption and debauchery."

"We talk of our constitution: why, if this is it, the banner of the constitution is a bank note and its basis a beer-barrel."

See what Mr. Jacob Bell, at once victor and victim of the St. Alban's election, discloses. The custom of the place is to trust large sums of money to election agents, but under circumstances which preclude any account of expenditure. A discreet friend sends a packet containing £500 to the office of an agent; another packet; "several" such packets. All on an understanding. The Latin for wood, or forest, is "lucus," derived from "non lucendo"—which might be rendered "light-place," because there is no light; just as we call a Negro "Snowball." Thus the "understanding" under which moneys are given to an election mediator means the understanding nothing at all about it.

It is no wonder that powerful interests are arrayed against Reforms; and it is to be noted that your "Liberal" party is most strong in election-mongers. Liberals, they are called, probably from openhandedness. Were the suffrage much extended, this trade would be abolished: no man could buy up a constituency under universal suffrage. At least, none could do so, unless it were a Rothschild bent on spending the fortune of a Cæsar in one election—a sight almost worth seeing for its gigantic recklessness, since it could only happen once in the world's history.

THE NEW WAR AT THE CAPE.

Ox entering upon a new and a more extensive stage of the Kafir war, it is a suitable occasion for the people of this country to consider the stern realities of the case, and the inevitable necessities of the future.

The condition of affairs at the date of the last accounts was disastrous in every respect. Sir Henry Smith's manœuvre of driving the Kafirs out of their fortresses into the settled districts, had not attained the only thing that could justify it—success. The settled districts had been overrun by hordes of marauders; the frontier, which in the euphemism of the Defence Association was receding westwards, had been driven in by the savages; the settlers had been despoiled, while the invaders had largely helped themselves to supplies of provisions, arms, and ammunition. The disaffection of the native tribes, which every despatch had described as increasing, has been crowned by the defection of the Hottentots; and the Commander-in-Chief is calling for 10,000 more troops.

Now, it is a grave question whether that addition to the forces will be enough. The estimate is made by the same man that is putting forth anticipations manifestly the most fallacious: in his reply to the Defence Association, while enumerating the disasters, Sir Henry Smith says that he "expects much from a new commando" under a "Civil Commissioner"; and he counts upon the "despondency" of the Kafirs as facilitating a more extended disposal of his forces—the despondency of the very invaders who are making head against him, and are inflicting the calamities that he confesses in the same breath! The man who talks thus, estimates the necessary reinforcements at 10,000; whence we may infer that anybody who does not "expect much from a commando" under a Civil Commissioner, and does not count upon the "despondency" of the Kafirs, would estimate the necessary reinforcements at a much higher amount.

But, whatever the needful amount of reinforcements, is Sir Henry Smith the proper person to intrust them to? Assuredly not. He has proved his incapacity both on the political and military ground. It is necessary to confront this fact directly, and to discuss it explicitly. Henceforward the war

must be conducted on an enlarged scale; this country must take the matter into its own hands, and must thank the chosen servant of the Home Government for the onerous necessity. At this stage, therefore, it is doubly necessary that what is done should be done efficiently, and that the conduct of the enlarged war should be placed in hands that are efficient. Sir Henry Smith has not the confidence or respect of the Colonists: he reiterates, again and again, that he has summoned them to his support, and they do not come; he contrasts their obstinate backwardness with "their noble conduct in 1835." They have irreconcilably quarrelled with him for political reasons; they have no confidence in his competency as a General. And naturally: he has proved his incapacity to conquer the barbarians whom he treated so cavalierly; he admits that the defection of the Hottentots was "unexpected" by him; and he has continually made such admissions of surprise and miscalculation. As brave a partisan as ever drew sword, he is as incompetent a General as ever bungled among victorious savages, confused geography, and disobedient levies. In the same document he has the effrontery, or rather the simplicity, to say, "The course I have pursued in British Kaffraria is the correct one"! He does not know his own position, politically, militarily, or morally!

No; the best reinforcement that the Home Government can send out is a General who can combine his movements, a Governor who can regain the confidence of the Colonists. If that obvious modicum of justice be not done, the People of the Cape have a right to declare that the Government deliberately squanders the property and the blood of the Colonists in an idle war, which the brave Colonists would soon settle for themselves if they were not debarred from the management of their own affairs.

HIS MAJESTY THE MONSTER.

An Eastern tells how there lived a Sultan who had revelled in hideous debauchery until, in the excess of his profligacy, Fate struck him with a terrible curse—terrible to himself, terrible to his people: from out of his breast, on each side, grew two serpents, which clamoured to be fed. And the miserable monster was forced, lest they should devour himself, to feed them with the flesh and blood of his subjects. And so he continued, daily giving a man to each of his hated offspring; and at last his beloved subjects, worn out with the loyal function of being eaten in detail, resolved to end the matter. They slew the cursed monster.

So says the Eastern tale; but it is no fable. The loathsome original exists in our day: The crowned monster sits on a living throne, and his name is Despotism. The two serpents grow out of his breasts, and they are fed with the substance of the living People. Their names are Standing Army and National Debt. If the great monarch did not feed them, and keep them well fed verily they would devour him.

But it is not so easy to find them food; for the Peoples begin to murmur. So he has hit upon a new plan. His dominions lie over all Europe, but he deceives his subjects. When "National Debt" wants food, and Austria cannot muster the heart to give up her quota, he lets Modena find the provision, and then he tells the Austrians that they must "keep faith with the national creditor." Thus he contrives that Modena shall decide for Austria, and he persuades the Austrians that national faith binds them to make good the sacrifice of that worthy Duke. Just in the same way Pitt, who was Prime Minister to his Majesty the Monster in 1800, decided what should be sacrificed by the People in 1851. Thus, too, Hungary pays for Austria—pays for being eaten up. All Europe feeds the Serpent that grows from the left breast of his Majesty the Monster, and pays more every year.

And Standing Army hath an appetite scarcely less. This serpent is less plethoric and voracious, but more cruel. He devours indifferently blood and gold; but he is more fond of the precious metal. And every nation is made to provide the sanguinary morceau for the others: Italy pays for Hungary and Austria; Hungary for Italy; and so on. England pays for all: she is deluded into believing that if his Majesty the Monster did not live and thrive, "English institutions" would fall; though English institutions have as little to do with the upholding of the Imperial Monster as the English People has with the fine gentlemen of Diplomacy—Diplomacy being lackey to his Ma-

jest; and providing him with prey in the most decorous manner. For if your Imperial Sybarites have depraved appetites, there are always ways of satisfying the horrid craving without scandal.

England has been invited to pull down this insatiable and accursed creature; but the reply of your "practical" Englishman is, that he has spent so much in setting up the August Monster, that he cannot afford anything towards pulling him down. He, Practical Englishman, would rather pay nearly forty millions sterling a year towards the régime of the dread Sovereign, than contribute the least farthing to the enterprise of dethronement.

A double knock at the door, with a twenty-post-man imperiousness.

Respectable English Liberal.—My dear, What is that?

Virtuous Wife—(turning pale).—My love—I fear—it is the—a—the Taxgatherer!

Respectable &c.—My dear, I think I really must invest something in the fund towards pulling down his Gracious Majesty with the—a—you know—illegitimate children, "of a larger growth," as the saying is. I understand there will be some chance of coming to terms with his Majesty in the coming year. I have paid long enough for 1815; and really I begin to think that 1852 will be the better speculation.

THE WORLD'S MONEY.

To live in peace it is of the first importance that people understand each other. Many a pair have argued for hours to find they have all along meant the same thing, and many a diplomatic proposal has been rejected from lack of knowledge. We have just now been shaking hands with all the world. The wolf has dwelt with the lamb, and the leopard has lain down with the kid. Nations that were accustomed to flush with rage at the mere mention of their rivals, have assembled in friendly and harmonious emulation. Complete success has attended this most Christian and fraternal fusion of discordant elements. Henceforward, we are to be in friendly competition with all nations. Prejudice and distrust are to be laid aside, and cordially are we to set forward from this '51, this resting place in the world's progress, and in a frank and generous spirit to extend our commercial hand to the whole world.

At the outset a difficulty arises. The world's coinage is everywhere diverse. The great difficulty in our dealings is that we do not understand each other. A question is forced upon us which has well nigh been forgotten in the bustle of the World's Fair. Why should we not at once endeavour to attain that most desirable object, a decimal system of money, weights, and measures? The present mode is an obstacle to commerce, and the adoption of the decimal system would be a powerful facilitation of the intercourse of mankind. Who, but the peculiarly initiated, knows at once the value of the various "dollars" and "eagles" of the United States; the "ducats" of Sweden, Denmark, and Spain; the "florins" of Prussia and Germany; the "guldens" of Holland; the "crusades" and "moidores," the "re" and "mil-re" of Portugal; the "pistoles" of Italy and Barbary; the dollar "piastres" of Florence; the halfpenny "piastres" of Arabia; the "roubles" of Russia; the "rupees," "sicca rupees," "cash," and "pagodas" of the East; the "francs" and "louis d'ors" of France?

Prince Albert has already won a name which sheds a lustre even on the throne. The successful consummation of the Great Exhibition is a victory worthy of an age when the sceptre and the pen are to take the place of the spear and the sword. Why should we not have a congress of scientific men from America and the various European States, who, in conclave, might determine upon scientific grounds such a system of coinage, weights, and measures, as would suit all nations? It would be removing one cause of misunderstanding and difficulty among nations, mercantile men would hail the change with satisfaction, and the farmer would henceforth understand the wheat quotations of the whole world.

To say nothing of the labour to the clerks of the universe in "compound" arithmetic.

THE LOYALTY OF BELLS.

BELLS in England are the symbols of loyalty. That is why they ring them in Oxford from seven A.M. to nine P.M. Very odd, therefore, it is that our bell-ringing loyalists should so pertinaciously object to Catholic bells. We presume that Protestant

bells only are gifted with the true loyal jingle. "No other bells need apply." The bells at Clapham were a nuisance to Protestant ears; but the bells of any Established Church in England may ring galore upon the occasion of a Queen's visit, no matter whom they annoy. Supposing such an atrocious case to occur, as the neglect to "ring in" the Queen, no matter for what reason, loyalty is immediately outraged.

The parish of Leigh, in Lancashire, is spiritually ministered unto by a clergyman of Tractarian views and doctrines, yeilded Irvine. He has been in hot-water with his bishop, and is constantly in boiling water with his churchwardens. The vicarage is close to the church, and of course any bell ringing not only rejoices the domestic hearths of the villagers, but stuns those who are confined in the bedrooms of the vicarage. On the occasion of the Queen's visit to the great cotton county, the bells of every village rang out a welcome, save and except the village of Leigh. How this disastrous result came about we proceed to explain.

There is a standing quarrel between the vicar and the churchwardens on the great bell question. In 1846, certain persons were appointed ringers, "with the conjoint approval of the vicar and the then churchwardens;" and subsequently "turned off by a unanimous vote of the parishioners on account of their unfitness to ring." When it was known that the Queen would pass through Leigh, the churchwardens applied for leave to have the bells rung in her honour. The vicar replied that he would be happy to "concur," but "of course" the bells must be rung by said unfit ringers. The churchwardens, in great anger, declared that "they would be deservedly disgraced, were they to employ men who had been declared by the parishioners as unfit for ringing on ordinary occasions, to ring the bells in honour of the Queen." And the vicar then rejoined that "Mrs. Irvine was so unwell as to render it extremely dangerous for her to be disturbed by the noise of bells in such close proximity;" and that he thought the bells could "not be lawfully rung," unless rung by said "unfit" ringers. Consequently, the bells were not rung. The churchwardens, the whole parish of Leigh, are dreadfully scandalized; and the whole correspondence is published, under the absurd title of "Tractarian Disloyalty and Obstinacy."

"What a farce!" exclaims the indignant reader. Yes, a farce with something tragic at the back of it. Here is another instance of the deep disagreement between the Church of England and the People of England. Instead of being an example of "Tractarian disloyalty," it is simply an example of the utter impotence of Church authorities and the abeyance of Church discipline.

RUSSIA, PERSIA, AND PALMERSTON.

THOSE diligent readers of the morning papers, who suffer no item of foreign intelligence to escape their careful observation, may possibly have seen a few lines, in a late overland mail, stating that the Shah of Persia has made himself master of Herat. As the politics of India are not popular at present, and as the Parliamentary recess—fortunately for Lord Palmerston—prevents inquisitive members from putting troublesome questions to the Foreign Secretary about Russian intrigues in Persia, and what business the Shah can possibly have in Afghanistan, unless as pioneer for the Czar, the morning papers have got up no thunder on the subject; and John Bull, with his head full of universal philanthropy, the Grand Exhibition of 1851, and the great Peace Congress of 1852, is allowed to remain in blissful ignorance of what mischief is brewing on the very border of his dangerous dominions in Hindostan. Poor John Bull! With a larger foreign connection than any of his friends or enemies in any part of the globe, he obstinately persists in being ignorant of all that is going on around him. What need of troubling himself with such a mass of complicated business, so long as all his affairs are so admirably managed by the cleverest of Foreign Secretaries?

And yet it might be worth his while to ask Lord Palmerston why we should be so much more careless about Russian influence in the East in 1851 than we were in 1836-8. After the Russian campaign in Hungary, one might have reasonably expected that an English Foreign Secretary would be much more on his guard against Russian intrigue than at the former period. How, then, is it that we find such statements as the following in Ministerial journals, unaccompanied by a single word of comment, or hint of Government having taken any steps in consequence?—

"Russian influence is triumphant at the Persian Court. Mirza Hassan, an influential member of the Divan, well known for his partiality to Russian interests, has been sent on an extraordinary mission to St. Petersburg; and 12,000 men, under the command of the Persian general, are now in possession of Herat."

Compare the conduct of England on the present occasion with what it was when Persia, instigated by the agents of the Czar, attempted to take possession of Herat in 1836. At that time Russian influence was dominant at the Persian Court, and every effort had been employed by the Russian Ambassador to persuade the Shah to extend his empire in the direction of Afghanistan. The Right Honourable Henry Ellis was then in Persia, on an embassy of condolence and congratulation to the young Shah; and the following extracts from his letters to Lord Palmerston, in the early part of 1836, will show how strongly he felt on the subject:—

"January 15.—I feel quite assured that the British Government cannot permit the extension of the Persian monarchy in the direction of Afghanistan, with a due regard to the internal tranquillity of India; that extension will at once bring Russian influence to the very threshold of our empire; and as Persia will not, or dare not, place herself in a condition of close alliance with Great Britain, our policy must be to consider her no longer an outwork for the defence of India, but as the first parallel from whence the attack may be commenced or threatened."

"February 25.—I am convinced that every effort will be made by the Shah to obtain possession of Herat, and to extend his dominions in the direction of Afghanistan, and that, for this purpose, no opportunity will be lost of forming connections with the chief of Cabul and his brothers. I cannot refrain from most earnestly calling the attention of her Majesty's Government, and of the East India Company, to the danger of the Shah of Persia approaching, either by direct conquest or by the admission of his right of dominion, the frontiers of India; for I can conceive no event more likely to unsettle the public mind in the north-western provinces, and to disturb the general tranquillity of our Eastern empire."

Two or three months later, in recurring to the subject, Mr. Ellis, expressing a hope that the Shah would not be able to carry out his scheme of invading Afghanistan for want of means, adds, but that would only be a temporary obstacle. "His Majesty has been encouraged, and, I have been recently informed, has been promised positive assistance in this design by the Russians; who well know that the conquest of Herat and Kandahar by the Persians is in fact an advance for them towards India, if not for the purpose of actual invasion, certainly for that of intrigue and disorganization." In the following winter, Mr. McNeill, who had succeeded Mr. Ellis, wrote home to Lord Palmerston, that the Russian Minister, Count Simonich, still continued to urge the Shah to undertake a winter campaign against Herat; upon which the Foreign Minister wrote a formal note to Lord Durham, then our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who spoke to Count Nesselrode upon the subject; and the Count assured his Lordship, that if Count Simonich had ever given any such advice to the Shah, which he Count Nesselrode entirely disbelieved, he had done the very contrary of what he had been instructed to do. Of course, this was quite enough to satisfy Lord Palmerston, who had the highest opinion of Russian honesty and honour, and who could not suppose that Count Nesselrode was deliberately stating a falsehood! In the following year, however, the machinations of Russia in Persia and Cabul were carried on so openly, that no one could doubt the duplicity of the Russian Government. A certain Captain Vicovich, of the Russian service, appears to have been the principal agent in carrying on this branch of the secret service; and from the accounts given of him from time to time in the despatches of Captain Burnes, the Russian Captain must have been a thorough adept in the more occult kinds of diplomacy. While the Shah of Persia, aided by Russian gold, was besieging Herat with an army of 60,000 men, Captain Vicovich was busily engaged at Cabul, promising Dost Mohammed pecuniary assistance against the Sikhs, urging him to renounce his connection with England, and place himself in intimate alliance with Russia and Persia. At the same time, Captain Burnes, the agent of the Indian Government, used every effort to persuade Dost Mohammed that his safest course was to adhere to England, in which case he must renounce all intercourse with Russia and Persia. The Ameer of Cabul tried to gain time; he wished to play off the one agent against the other till the fate of Herat was decided. All eyes were then directed to

that spot. It was felt that if the Shah of Persia made himself master of that city, the influence of Russia would be paramount in Afghanistan.

But Lord Palmerston began at last to see that something must be done, unless England were prepared to submit ignominiously to whatever indignities Russia might choose to inflict. In the summer of 1838, a message was sent to the Shah of Persia, warning him that he must withdraw his troops from Herat, or we should be forced to adopt severe measures. The following portion of the message to the Shah will show that our Government entertained a rather strong objection to the taking of Herat for Russian purposes in 1838, whatever view it may take of the same encroachment in 1851:—

"I am directed to inform your Majesty that if Herat should have surrendered to your Majesty, the British Government will consider your Majesty's continuing to occupy that, or any other portion of Afghanistan, as a hostile demonstration against England. Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary anxiously hopes that, by speedily withdrawing the Persian army into your Majesty's own dominions, your Majesty will avert the inevitable consequences of persevering in a course of hostility to England.

"Your Majesty is no doubt informed by the Government of Persia, that a body of British troops, and a naval armament, consisting of five ships of war have already arrived in the Persian Gulf, and that for the present the troops have been landed on the Island of Karrak. The measures your Majesty may adopt in consequence of this representation will decide the future movements and proceedings of that armament."

This "firm" language, backed by the English ships of war, speedily brought the Shah to his senses. He had been told by the Russian agents that England had entered into recognizances of a thousand millions to keep the peace, that even if we were disposed to go to war, our army and navy were so reduced as to leave us entirely at the mercy of our neighbours, and that now was the time for his Persian Majesty to tread in the footsteps of Nadir Shah, and march forward to Delhi. The appearance of the English armament in the Persian Gulf taught the silly Shah that he had been imposed upon by the wily agents of Russia; and as this bad news came immediately after the signal failure of an assault which the Persian army had made on Herat, under the guidance of Major-General Count Simonich, the pacific Russian Ambassador, he prudently took the hint which Lord Palmerston had given, raised the siege, and withdrew his army into his own dominions. Then followed a brisk diplomatic correspondence between Lord Palmerston and Count Nesselrode, respecting the underhand part which Russia had played in all these transactions; the upshot of which was, that the wily Count distinctly disavowed all intention of the Russian Government to disturb the British empire in Asia, and expressed his strong disapproval of the expedition against Herat; and that Lord Palmerston declared himself perfectly satisfied as to the sincerity of the Russian Minister's disavowal.

And now, looking back at the Russo-Persian foray into Afghanistan in 1837-8, with the additional light which recent events have thrown upon Russian policy, the question for Englishmen to ask is:—Why should we now stand quietly by and allow Persia to take possession of Herat? In 1838, our Government warned the Shah that his continuing to occupy that city, or any other portion of Afghanistan, would be considered a hostile demonstration against England, and prompt measures were taken to convince him that we were in earnest. In 1851, when everything conspires to make us more jealous of Russian influence—more suspicious of Russian intrigue, the Shah of Persia—the mere satrap of the Czar—is allowed to take possession of the chief fortress in the most defensible country on the whole road from the Russian frontier to the Punjab, without even a word of remonstrance. Is this another of the adroit diplomatic schemes by which England is to be conveniently frightened into keeping the peace at some future crisis, when a bold policy on her part would scatter consternation among the despots, and give assurance to the friends of freedom from one end of Europe to the other?

THE PRESS IN SPAIN.

THE *Tribuna del Pueblo* has been condemned to a fine of 50,000 reales, after a previous fine of 30,000 reales; a heavy assault on a journal which based its success on opinion alone. "We sought," says the *Tribuna*, "the war of ideas, and not of bullion. We thought that for our purpose the weapons were to be sought in the armoury of intelligence, and not in the purse. Illusion!

Before you can think, before you can discuss, before you can expound ideas, you must possess money—much money. With much money you may enjoy the privilege of poisoning public morality; without it, you can neither do good nor propound useful ideas." It is not quite so bad in this country. Success and free opinion are not incompatible; but money enjoys vast privileges of slander and depravity.

Meanwhile, the *Tribuna* "reposes" from the contest, and retires for a while from public view, to gather "fresh munitions." Success to it: our contemporary has fought bravely and well; its labour will not have been in vain. Its bread thrown upon the waters will be returnable in 1852.

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF MALTA.

THE morning papers state that Colonel Reid and Mr. Dilke have both declined the remuneration offered them, by the royal commission, for their valuable services in connection with the Great Exhibition. Mr. Dilke, as a matter of personal feeling, being fortunately able to afford the sacrifice, has given his services gratuitously. The ground on which Colonel Reid declines the sum offered by the Commissioners, is that, being retained in the Government pay, while acting as chairman of the Executive Committee, he was bound by military etiquette to render all the aid he could without any additional reward. It appears, however, that his services at the Crystal Palace are to be rewarded in a much more munificent manner than by the gift of two or three thousand pounds. The governorship of Malta, to which Colonel Reid has been appointed by Government, with a salary of £3500 per annum, only a few hundred less than that of the President of the United States—the chief magistrate of 24,000,000 people—is a very handsome honorarium for his last twelvemonth's labours.

MANCHESTER FOR THE IRISH.

CHEAP cotton and cheap corn! What more did Manchester millowners ask in order to give them enormous profits? And yet with such elements of prosperity Manchester finds that its pauperism has been increasing at a more rapid rate during the last few years of abundance and low prices than those previous to the abolition of the corn laws. Of course, the Protectionist organs appeal to so startling a fact as the most unanswerable proof of the ruinous consequences of Free trade. This is sheer absurdity. It is merely a striking illustration of the mischievous operation of the ten times tinkered Poor-law Amendment Act. Since the abolition of the power of removing paupers who have resided five years in any township, the depopulation system in Ireland and England has filled our large towns with the surplus agricultural population. These victims of our wretched landlord system contrive to scramble on for a few years in a miserable, half-starved manner, and then throw themselves upon the poor rates. The rapid increase of the population in Manchester and other manufacturing towns is not a healthy increase. More than half of the new arrivals are forced to take refuge there, because they have neither spirit nor funds to take them to America, Canada, or Australia. But although this explains why pauperism increases so fast in Manchester, it does not show how the evil is to be encountered. The *Times* takes up the question in its usual grand way, places it in the most alarming light, and then winds up by saying that, so far as it can perceive, nothing can be done. On that point we differ from "the leading journal," and we shall endeavour to show why in a future number.

CHEAP OMNIBUSES.

In Liverpool and Glasgow there are omnibuses which carry passengers short distances at the rate of a penny per mile. Why should we not have the same cheap conveyances in London? A bold attempt has been made, we understand, in one of our busiest thoroughfares to establish a line of omnibuses on the same principle as those of Liverpool; but it is questionable whether it will succeed under our wretched, scrambling, wasteful system of unregulated competition. The advocates of *laissez-faire* may see an illustration of the evil working of their favourite doctrine in the omnibus warfare which has lately been confounding Oxford-street. No sooner had the cheap vehicles been started to the great delight of the public, than the wealthy Paddington Conveyance Association placed a number of omnibuses on the same route at equally low fares, for the express purpose of running the introducer of the cheap system off the road. Should they succeed in doing so, the result will, no doubt, be a return to the old fares, and the triumph of *laissez-faire*. Now, if penny omnibuses pay in Liverpool, where wages are quite as high as they are here, why should they not succeed in London? If they fail, will it not be simply because the present companies contrive to preserve a virtual monopoly of the passenger traffic?

SOCIAL REFORM.

"NOTES OF A SOCIAL ECONOMIST."

THE COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS OF ENGLAND.

VII.

"The development of the human faculties, and the formation of human character, take place according to fixed laws imposed by the Creator for the regulation of both mind and body, and to be successful (in education) our endeavours to modify either must be made in conformity with divine arrangements."—*COMBES on the Management of Infancy*.

"The benefits of Circulation (of wages), and the subsistence of the working classes, would remain as two great results of a labour which yet would give no profit to the employer."—*Partnership "en Commandite,"* by T. WILSON.

THE result of his experiments at Manchester and at New Lanark convinced Robert Owen of the truth of the principle that *any general character, from the best to the worst, from the ignorant to the enlightened, but endlessly varied according to the diversities of physical and mental constitution, may be imparted to any community, even to the world at large, by an application of the means, which are already to a great extent at command and under human control.* The astute policy of governments* and of priests had hitherto formed for society the general character of mankind. Robert Owen, therefore, determined to go forth as a pilgrim lecturer—a missionary, or martyr if need were, of the gospel of REASON—preaching the strange doctrine "That the character of man is formed *for*, and not *by* him—the most important divine principle ever yet taught to man, for all eternal truths are divine." He could do no more, he thought, for a manufacturing population, and determined to leave New Lanark; but finding that the profits of the concern were so much larger than any parties ought to receive from the labour of others, he proposed to two of his partners to allow the workpeople to have it to themselves for their own profit, after paying five per cent. for the capital there invested; and he offered to continue to manage it for them until they could conduct it for themselves through directors of their own appointment. But this was at once declined. For even, in 1822, William Allen wrote to him—"Our principles (religious) are diametrically opposite (to rational). At present, however, it is quite plain that we must part." After several years of preparation, during which he made the necessary arrangements for departure, Robert Owen sold his pecuniary interest in the concern, and finally retired in 1829. Between the autumn of the year 1824 and the summer of 1829, Robert Owen was four times in the United States of America, once in the West Indies, and once in Mexico. These journeys were made to promote the great object of his life, "The permanent happiness of the human race."

What, then, were the moral, political, and pecuniary results of this great experiment, carried on for nearly thirty years? The circumstances surrounding the population of New Lanark had been completely changed. The inhabitants, who were originally idle, dirty, intemperate, and immoral, became industrious, sober, cleanly, and moral, under circumstances which at the best were very defective "compared with those in which all people ought to be placed, thus proving the natural goodness of humanity when properly treated;" and they were made contented and happy by the simple process of removing inferior and injurious circumstances and substituting those which were beneficial and superior. Thus the "GREAT TRUTH" was evolved.

The political changes which had been effected, were manifested by the absence of litigation, and by the gradual introduction of feelings of charity and good will between the different sects; by the self-insurance of the people against age and infirmity by weekly subscriptions; and by the entire absence of parochial relief, or charity from with-

* It was the dying injunction of Henry IV. to his son not to allow the English to remain long at peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions; but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the Prince might acquire glory. This Prince allowed the primate and three of his suffragans, the Bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, to burn the good Lord Cobham as a Lollard or Wickliffe.

out; and Robert Owen states that, during the whole period of the experiment, he never once applied to a lawyer or a magistrate, nor was there a single legal punishment inflicted. The children born within the establishment, and trained from infancy in the institution, were very superior to others of their own class. They were well educated at an expense to the parents of three pence a month, and to the Company of £2 a-year, for each child; yet from the beneficial results produced on the children and parents, and upon the establishment generally, no part of the capital invested "was employed so well or so profitably." Indeed, the amount of wealth and happiness hourly sacrificed by society from neglect or ignorance of the "immense power, for good or for evil, of the application of the science of the influence of circumstances," in the formation of human character, far exceeds any estimate that will be made by "irrational" minds. The loss in the creation of wealth, from this cause alone, is beyond calculation; and society, from being ignorant of its own creative power, is daily committing the most lamentable self-destruction. What were the *pecuniary* results of the experiment? A manufactory for spinning cotton, and for making the machinery, with a new institution for the formation of character, consisting of two extensive buildings, had been erected and completely furnished; a costly apparatus for teaching, by sensible signs as well as by books, had been supplied at a cost to the Company of £1200 a year: a large outlay had been made in the village; and, in addition to this expenditure, £7000 had been paid in wages to the workers during four months of the American embargo, when the price of cotton was too high for any manufacturer to use it, and when no work, except the necessary cleaning of the standing machinery, was performed. The hours of working were also reduced to ten and a half* per day, and for thirty years all the hands were regularly paid their wages without any reduction. Yet when all these expenses were covered, five per cent per annum was paid for the use of the capital employed, and there still remained a *surplus profit among the partners, exceeding three hundred thousand pounds.*† At the commencement of the experiment, the people were miserable and in debt; but when Robert Owen retired, they were well lodged, well fed, and well clothed, their children well educated, and yet the parents had placed savings in his hands to the amount of £3000, which were repaid before he quitted New Lanark.

The statement of the amount of *profits* will, probably, satisfy the ignorant and vulgar commercial mind, and these economists, who estimate gold as real or certain, and all other things as nominal, or uncertain wealth. "But the truth is, that £300,000 of *profit* might have been made, either with a very partial and limited production of real wealth, or with a very large creation of it." Under the metal-money system, *profits* afford no criterion of the amount of wealth produced; for there may be great *profits* made, and little or no real wealth created, and no *profits* made, and yet great wealth produced. In the midst of superabundant wealth for all, there is an *apparent* excess of population; one of the monstrous anomalies of modern society: *Labour* alone being the primary means of production, is "the original purchase money which has been paid for everything;"‡ yet capital, which, "strictly speaking, has no productive power," has a monopoly of *profits*; and, while the industrious workers and wealth producers may starve, or be gaoled off in Irish workhouses, drones of the social hive are living, perhaps, in luxury and idleness. But while ignorance prevails, and the selfish faculties predominate, individualism is the only system for which men thus organized are fitted; I am inclined to believe, that *Competition* must first destroy *Monopoly*, all political, religious, and social monopolies, ere it be superseded by a higher and unselfish principle of human action. "Men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public;" and the first lesson which should be given to the young, is to open their understandings to the fact, that the precept which commands us to love our neigh-

bours as ourselves, is actually written in our constitutions, and must be practically realized before the world can become prosperous and happy.

I have endeavoured to select the most important of the social and scientific results obtained by Robert Owen from his experiment at the mills of New Lanark; "but such establishments and inventions have been multiplying in a continually increasing ratio in Great Britain;" so that the artificial labour-power which has been obtained from mechanism and chemistry is now estimated as equal to the manual power of from six to ten hundred millions of full-grown men, well trained to work most obediently, and without requiring profits, wages, food, or clothing, or support of any kind, excepting fuel and oil, and a comparatively few men, women, and children—*slaves*, to keep them (the machines) clean and attend to them. These mechanical and chemical *slaves* are multiplying rapidly over the civilized world, and daily superseding, more and more, the necessity of human *slaves*; and it would be a legitimate application of the principles of the political economists to say that it is full time that "these latter were killed off" (like the Irish peasantry, by the land-jobbers and monopolists), "to save the expense of keeping them in idleness or out of mischief, for living *slaves* cannot be idle and at the same time harmless; and to maintain and keep them in order is both expensive and troublesome.

"THE MOST AMPLE MEANS ARE AT THE CONTROL OF SOCIETY, TO CREATE A SUPERIOR CHARACTER, A SUPERFLUITY OF WEALTH, AND A GOOD GOVERNMENT FOR ALL, AMIDST THE MOST DESIRABLE EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES, AND ARRANGEMENTS CALCULATED TO PERMANENTLY UNITE ALL; and yet these lunatics* will continue to employ measures, at an enormous and continually increasing expense, directly calculated to perpetuate ignorance, poverty, repulsive feelings, crimes, punishments, pride, oppression, hatred, and all the innumerable evils of EXTREME POVERTY coexisting with EXTREME RICHES.

"Can the means be found to enable man to know himself, his past ignorance and errors, and to become a *Rational* being and a wise example to other animals? Happily for the human race, events are now in rapid progress throughout the civilized world to force upon society this most desirable result."

The failure of the subsequent experiments, made by the disciples of Robert Owen, are well known; and the cause of their failure is satisfactorily explained by Dr. George Coombe. They arose from an imperfect knowledge and appreciation of human nature, and of the moral and physical laws by which it is governed—the *perfect* man being necessary to the *perfect* state, as Plato clearly perceived—his *Republic* being a development of the analogy between the two. In his Lecture on the future condition of Society, Dr. Coombe says:—

"The leading principle of Mr. Owen is, that human character is determined mainly by external circumstances; and that natural dispositions, and even established habits, may be easily overcome. Accordingly, he invited all persons who approved of his scheme to settle at New Harmony; but as those who acted on his invitation had been trained in the selfish system, and were in many instances mere ignorant adventurers, they failed to act in accordance with the dictates of the moral sentiments and intellect, and Mr. Owen's benevolent scheme proved completely unsuccessful. The establishment at Orbiston, in Lanarkshire, set on foot ten (twenty-five) years ago by the admirers of that gentleman, fell closely under my personal observation; and there the same disregard of the principles of human nature and the results of experience, was exhibited. About three hundred, persons very imperfectly educated, and united by no great *moral* or religious principle, excepting the vague idea of co-operation, were congregated in a large building; they were furnished with the use of 270 acres of arable land, and commenced the co-operative mode of life. But their labour being guided by no efficient direction or superintendence, and there being no habitual supremacy of the moral and intellectual powers among them, animating each with a love of the public good, but the reverse,—the result was melancholy and speedy. Without in the least benefiting the operatives, the scheme ruined its philanthropic projectors, most of whom are now either in premature graves, or emigrants to distant lands; while every stone which they reared has been razed to the foundation.

"The success of Mr. Rapp, at Harmony, shows that, whenever the animal propensities can be controlled by the strength of moral and religious principle, co-operation for the general welfare and a vast increase of happiness become possible."

* What will the LUNATICS do with the CONVICTS?—W. C.

The Rappites, as well as the Shakers, hold all their property in common, and enforce *celibacy*; but Miss Martineau observes, that "whatever they have peculiarly good among them is owing to the soundness of their economical principles; whatever they have that excites compassion, is owing to the badness of their moral arrangements;" and Mr. Silk Buckingham, in speaking of the Rappites "Economy," says:—"They have completely proved by their success the soundness of the principle, that *co-operation* in society insures the most equitable mode of distribution, and the largest share of enjoyment for all." The Rappites are organized into one body by a constitution grounded on the thirty-second verse of the fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles:—

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul. Neither said any of them that aught of the things he possessed was his own, but had all things in common."

The miserably paid working clergymen of the Establishment ought to press this text upon the attention of the bench of episcopal monopolists, who seem to think that—

"Too much tender mercy's cruel."

WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

POSTSCRIPT.—In a large house, an ASYLUM, at Highgate, there is a family, all of whom, except the attendants, are *idiots*. In 1847, twenty-five were unable to walk; one hundred and fourteen unable to feed, dress, or take care of their person: twenty epileptic; twelve paralyzed; sixty-eight dumb; and twenty-five under nine years of age. We learn from the Report of 1851, that six have been taught to walk, and fourteen much improved who had a crippled use of their limbs. Twenty-seven who were dumb are beginning to speak; forty-eight have been taught to feed and dress themselves, and to observe cleanly habits; twenty-three have been taught to read; twenty-seven to write; eleven to cipher; sixteen to draw. Some are taught music, nearly all singing, nearly all are in drilling or gymnastic classes. Ninety can attend with propriety on domestic, and about fifty can attend on public worship, and have pleasure in so doing.

We might challenge any private school, says the Report, to show greater attention to time, place, method, and authority; and all this is secured *without correction*. In nothing are they at first more deficient than in *good habits*. Some scream, bark, dance nervously, mope, beat themselves, or destroy everything within their reach. All are wilful and unruly; and most of them debased by disagreeable habits. But most of them recover. The rule is, never to allow any *bad habit* to be considered incurable, and, therefore, it is cured. Noisy and destructive habits are eradicated. In feeding, they pass from the fingers to the spoon, and from the spoon to the knife and fork. They cultivate good behaviour and mutual kindness; and learn to respect what is due to themselves from others, and what from themselves to others. Thus we find that *idiots* become "*rational*" under favourable "circumstances," and with careful training in good "habits." W. C.

SOCIALISM.—It appears to us that nothing valid can be said against socialism in principle; and that the attempts to assail it, or to defend private property on the ground of justice, must inevitably fail. The distinction between rich and poor, so slightly connected as it is with merit and demerit, or even with exertion and want of exertion in the individual, is obviously unjust; such a feature could not be put into the rudest imaginings of a perfectly just state of society; the present capricious distribution of the means of life and enjoyment, could only be defended as an admitted imperfection, submitted to as an effect of causes in other respects beneficial. Again, the moral objection to competition, as arming one human being against another, making the good of each depend upon evil to others, making all who have anything to gain or lose, live as in the midst of enemies, by no means deserves the disdain with which it is treated by some of the adversaries of socialism, and among the rest, by Mr. Newman. Socialism as long as it attacks the existing individualism, is easily triumphant; its weakness hitherto is in what it proposes to substitute; the reasonable objections to socialism are altogether practical, consisting in difficulties to be surmounted, and in the insufficiency of any scheme yet promulgated to provide against them; their removal must be a work of thought and discussion, aided by progressive experiments, and by the general moral improvement of mankind, through good government and education.—From Westminster Review for October.

* For the early history of the Factory Bill, see Robert Owen's Letter in reply to the Dean of York in the fourteenth number of his "JOURNAL."

† It was the only speculation in which Bentham ever made anything, and it proved eminently successful.—The Examiner.—Review of Romilly's Memoirs.

‡ "It may doubted whether, comparatively speaking, there be not more profit to the country from horse-racing than from cotton spinning! Both contribute to fill the Exchequer, the main point in modern Government."—THOMAS WILSON.

§ Essays, No. IV. By STUART MILL.

Literature.

Ombres are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review.*

THE Literature of the Exhibition will form a large section of our annals for 1850 and 1851. Large and singularly unwise. What a compendium of folly its true history would be! The fears which endeavoured to paralyse execution,—the wild Cassandra tones of foreseen evils,—the variety of dreadful consequences this Exhibition was to produce; and then the foolish, openmouthed astonishment when the marvels were displayed,—the anticipations of great results, as baseless as the fears had been—the careless unexamining acceptance of all that glittered for gold; and now finally the grumbling and suspicion excited by the awards!

That no one would be satisfied with the awards was pretty generally foreseen. Every exhibitor, of course, privately believes in his valid claim. But the feeling manifested by France is, we regret to say it, deeply disgraceful to her—disgraceful to an extent she little suspects, implying as it does a moral obliquity. The childish braggadoccio spirit France manifests, is a standing topic of mirth to England and Germany; therefore, only a smile passed over our lips when we read the foolish flatteries which her journalists petted her with à propos to the Exhibition. She was insanely envious of England having the "glory" of carrying out such a scheme; but speedily consoled herself with the assurance that, in the first place, the Idea was French; in the second place, France surpassed all other countries in the articles contributed! Her journalists told her so—they dared not tell her otherwise.

Was the Idea taken from France? Suggested by the annual "Exposition" it assuredly was; but the greatness of our Exhibition, that which raised it above a mere Fair, was the cosmopolitan extension of the idea—the making it a Congress for the World's Industry—and this only an impudent Frenchman could believe to have been borrowed from France. It is well to keep this point in view. That which made the Exhibition a great symbol, a marking point in history, was the universality of its aim: it was not a national, but a cosmopolitan, glory. Would France have ever admitted such an extension of her Exposition?

True to her ungenerous and self-betraying tendency to suspect the motives of others, France asserts that England's "egoism" and "commercial insolence" originated this scheme—as "a triumphant defiance to the world—to show how superior she was to other nations." (What a truly French motive!) It may be well to remind the reader that this scheme of an Exhibition did not originate with Manufacturers or Exhibitors—that it was steadfastly opposed by the "commercial world," and that only by the aid of incessant propaganda could the commercial world be brought to see that it was a good thing for all nations, their own, of course, included. When we read such base nonsense as that which fills French newspapers, when we read their ingenious suspicions of far-fetched motives for actions which are simple and straightforward, how can we help seeing in their suspicion a betrayal of their own motives? SALLUST finely says, that men only credit in others the virtues they feel capable of themselves:—"Ubi de magnâ virtute et gloriâ bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat equo animo accipit; supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit."

Having swaggared herself into the belief that in every respect she transcended all other nations, France is now malignantly reproaching England with "partiality" and "dread of her superiority," and not awarding her all the prizes. With a disregard of truth peculiar to semicivilized people, they write as if the Jurors had been all English, instead of English and Foreign, and overlook the fact that, in proportion to the number of exhibitors, France has received more prizes than England. We are

happy to say, that the *Journal des Débats* and the *République* have strongly and convincingly reproved the other papers for their miserable conduct in this respect. If France were not in a semicivilized condition, she would not be so ungenerous in her suspicions, nor so lost to a sense of decency, as not to perceive that these suspicions disgrace her more than England. Suspicion is evidence of a low type. All savages are suspicious.

Leaving this unpleasant topic and turning to the Literature of the Exhibition, we cannot but notice its singular poverty: the books printed have been innumerable, their value is very small. One work, however, stands eminent from the mass—a fit record of the gigantic scheme; we mean the *Official Illustrated Catalogue*, which, in the prodigality and accuracy of its illustrations, and the brief yet full descriptions accompanying them, stands forth a permanent and valuable record of this great Industrial event.

ALPHONSE KARR is one of the wittiest and pleasantest of the second order of French writers, and has one superiority over his Parisian confrères—a loving knowledge of Nature, which will always endear him to English minds. His last novel, *Clovis Gosselin*, is charming, and may be recommended to those who "shudder at French novels," for it is as innocent as need be. It is a simple story of an energetic, ambitious mother, who slaves for her son's advancement with a devotion only women know. She dreams that he will be a Physician, and replace the old gentleman who pays visits on his piebald horse. That dream she devotes her life to accomplish. A pleasant love Idyll weaves its silver thread upon this canvas; and altogether the tale pleasantly occupies the mind, and leaves it with a pleasant impression.

The only bit of Literary gossip this week has furnished us is the subscription set on foot for a statue to MADAME DE SEVIGNE. The lines written for her by MENAGE ought to be inscribed on the statue, as suggested by JULES JANIN:—

"Questa, questa e la man leggiadra e bella
Ch'ogni cor prende, e, come vuol, l'aggira."

In other words, This is the charming one who took every heart in her hand and swayed it as she pleased. If glory justifies a statue, she assuredly deserves one beside the best; yet what monument can equal that of her incomparable letters? Statues to those whom otherwise we might suffer to fall into forgetfulness, may be becoming tributes; we honour ourselves in honouring the good and great. But statues to those who live in every memory, of what use are they?

In Germany there is not much activity. Every one is reading GUTZKOW's *Ritter vom Geiste* with an avidity almost equal to that which EUGENE SUE's novels excited. Such, however, is the difference of English and German tastes in matters of fiction that English readers find the *Ritter* ineffably wearisome. (Mem. for those who may be induced to plunge into German novels.) AUERBACH is about to produce a new work, *Neues Leben*, of which report speaks highly. A lively and clever correspondent writes to us that "AUERBACH has become rather savage of late, in order to preserve his individuality, as he says, or, as others say, his brutality. I called upon GUTZKOW to-day and found his lovely little wife at home. His *Ritter vom Geiste* is so interesting that I pass the nights in perusing it. But our really great star, BETTY PAOLI, will be in Dresden shortly to pass the winter here with me. SCHROEDER DEVRIENT has been banished from Dresden to-day on account of her interest in the people in 1848. Her friends give her a parting fête. Sad times these!" Sad times, truly! What a bitter sarcasm upon the Governmental Powers that a singer's political sympathies can alarm or offend! Mlle. ZERR, because she sings in London at a Concert for Hungarians, is punished in Vienna; SCHROEDER DEVRIENT is thought "dangerous" in Dresden. Since the

miserable farce of Imperial Government acted in Rome under the patronage of the CÆSARS, there has been no such pitiable, decrepit, and altogether hateful spectacle as that presented by the Ruling Powers in Germany and France at this hour. How long can it last?

BROWNE'S GREEK LITERATURE,

A History of Classical Literature. By R. W. Browne, A.A. 2 vols. Bentley.

COMING after K. O. Müller's *History of Greek Literature*, Bernhardt's *Grundriss*, Bode's and Ulrici's *Geschichten*, Schoel's *Littérature Grecque*, and other learned works on this subject, Professor Browne's *History* presents a modest figure, and would suggest derogatory comparisons, did we not remember how singularly deficient our Literature is in similar works. All depends upon the point of view taken: if the book be regarded as an addition to Literary History, little can be said for it; if, on the other hand, we regard it as a handbook, supplying a place not yet filled, it may be welcomed as a very acceptable, and on the whole meritorious, work. Colonel Mure's *History of Greek Literature* is for scholars; this is for the "general public."

This *History* contains a survey of Greek Poets, Historians, Philosophers, and Orators, with biographical notices and some critical discussion of a not very elaborate kind. The extent of such an undertaking necessitates a brevity often amounting to dryness; it also implies that a great portion of it is mere compilation. The distribution of space is somewhat capricious, and might have been beneficially economized by the omission of the commonplace reflections. Still more so by the omission of the philosophers. In the Literature of a nation, Philosophy has no more claim to a place than Science; and even if its claim be conceded, Professor Browne is ill-fitted by previous training to treat it successfully. Neither his knowledge nor capacity can be said to lie in that direction. We should urge him to reject all those pages devoted to philosophy, and fill their place with more ample accounts of purely literary works. The chapters on the Tragedians, for example, are unwarrantably jejune and poor; yet they might be made very interesting without much trouble. It is true that to make them so, would require a greater familiarity with them than he seems to have.

The best pages in the book are those which relate to the Homeric Poems. We altogether dissent from his conclusions; but the copiousness and clearness of his exposition are such as to prove that, had he taken the same pains with the other portions, he would very materially have improved the book. He is a staunch defender of the Unity of Composition and Authorship—following Colonel Mure very closely. We attach no weight to his arguments, but commend them for their clearness of statement. Some of them, however, seem to tell more against his opinion than in favour of it. For example, he calls it a proof of Homeric unity that the language of the *Iliad* is, throughout, evidently that of one period, "it does not exhibit so much variation as might be supposed to take place during the course of two successive generations." Now, we beg the reader to observe:—First, that the counter hypothesis, declaring that the Homeric Poems were collected and written down by Peisistratus, or under his directions, and were consequently subjected to severe revision and adaptation to the language of that period, cannot be affected by such an argument as this; because unity of language must result from such a process (Dryden's *Chaucer* is an example in point). Secondly, Professor Browne himself has, in a previous passage, thus cut the ground from under his own position. At page forty-six he declares that, according to all the laws of progress in language, the dialect and metre of the Homeric Poems unanswerably prove that they must have been recited or sung long before they were committed to writing. Porson remarked that the digamma must have been pronounced; yet no trace of it exists in the manuscripts. "It is also plain that the slight difference between the language of Homer and later Greek, when compared with the rapid changes observable in other languages, presents a philological anomaly very difficult of explanation, except on the hypothesis that the poems were subjected to much revision and adaptation to language of a more advanced period."

A newspaper is not the arena for the Homeric controversy. We content ourselves with intimating, that the notion of Unity of Authorship is to our minds a delusion fostered by rhetoric and traditional errors; and that Professor Browne has in no

way altered our view of it. Those holding the opposite opinion will, however, be interested by his exposition.

As a critic Professor Browne does not shine. He deals largely in academic conventionalisms; and very often speaks either from no knowledge or from such vague remembrance as to be little better. Has he read Sappho since he left College? If so, he must permit us to express our surprise at his talking of her "nature-loving imagery," and still more at his admitting the miserable trash of Ambrose Phillips as "faithful translations" of her two famous poems. How could he ever suppose that Sappho would have been famous if she had written like this?—

"In dewy damps my limbs were chill'd,
My blood with gentle horrors thrill'd,
My feeble pulse forgot to play,
I fainted, sank, and died away."

We beg him to turn to his Greek, and see what Sappho *did* write; he will then know what to think of "faithful translations."

We shall not continue this examination of details, because a work like the present must be judged rather in its totality than in detail; we cordially commend it as a general view of the subject. The task it attempts is so gigantic, that "honourable mention" may be fairly awarded where the prize is withheld; without satisfying the demands of criticism, it may, nevertheless, earn the praise of being a meritorious and useful work. It brings into convenient compass materials which lie scattered broad cast over the great field of literary research, and to the public at large it will be welcome as the first comprehensive view of the whole Literature of Greece which has yet been published.

POEMS BY BEDDOES.

The Poems Posthumous and Collected of Thomas Lovell Beddoes. In 2 vols. Fickering.

THESE are very interesting volumes. The amount of poetic beauty they contain should earn them a place in every collection of choice works; while to the poetic student they will be peculiarly interesting, their very defects suggesting trains of thought at once profitable and pleasing. To those, and they are the greatest number, who regard imagery as the main thing in a poem, who look upon the gift of poetic expression as the highest of endowments, Beddoes will assuredly appear a very considerable poet. The factitious admiration which has been excited for the Old English Dramatists will find here matter for further ecstasy. There are "passages" in these volumes equal in beauty and tragic intensity to almost anything which has a place in *Lamb's Specimens*. What then? Do they prove that Beddoes was a great Poet? They simply prove that Beddoes could write splendid passages; if you imagine that he who wrote these passages could have written fine works, we refer you to the collected edition of his works for ample proof of the contrary. Like many other wielders of grand sonorous diction, like many others with the gift of "imagery" (we will not say imagination), Beddoes exhibits, when you pierce beneath the glittering surface, a mind essentially mediocre. Take up his works and consider them from any point of view you will, except the rhetorical, and they are undistinguished from the mass of mediocre poems which yearly issue from the press. This judgment will sound harsh in the face of the high eulogies which these poems have called forth. It is, however, perfectly deliberate; and we leave it in the hands of impartial readers, if they will trouble themselves to examine the poems. Here are dramas without any one quality of dramatic art, except that power of expression which we have before said they possess in unusual intensity. As stories they are childish, beyond even what dramatic licence can tolerate. In the delineation of character, the setting in action of passions and motives, and all those individualizing traits which are summed up in the word "characterization," Beddoes stands on precisely the same level as those numberless young gentlemen—"mostly fools"—who gratify the "desire of friends" by publishing five acts of blank verse, supposed to be examples of Shakspearian art. In our time we have read (nay, why hesitate in confessing that we have also written?)—a fearful amount of such; their characteristics are vividly remembered by us, the more so as they have all a strong family resemblance. And although we cannot forget the superiority which Beddoes manifests in one important quality, we must, nevertheless, deliberately assert that in respect of dramatic art he is on the same level as

they are. Beddoes never pays Nature the compliment of attempting to copy her. In the alembic of his wild imagination, Nature becomes transmuted into Phantasms; and we should throw aside the book in weariness and disgust, were it not for that singular and fascinating power he has of investing his Phantasms in a garb of beauty.

Not only the high rare power of characterization, and the rare, yet lower one, of representing Life, do we utterly deny to Beddoes. He might want these and be a considerable writer nevertheless. We go further, and deny him the possession of that degree of intellectual vigour which manifests itself in all poets of worth, as thoughtfulness or judgment. There is a great quantity of reflective writing in these volumes, yet we scarcely remember one new thought—one passage which bore the stamp of a superior intelligence. The imagery is new, the thoughts have no value. His intellect is active—morbidly so—but not deep-seeing.

Denying him the qualities which constitute all fine poets, and separating ourselves widely from those critics who have spoken of him as only fine poets deserve to be, we must nevertheless justify their admiration and our own, by exhibiting the power Beddoes does possess. In the remainder of our criticism we shall consider him *aut generis*.

You cannot open the volumes at random and read for many pages without being struck by the unusual intensity of the imagery, and poetic emotion which pulses through the verse. The sombre and painful cast of his thoughts, every now and then bursting forth into impassioned and somewhat lurid magnificence, next arrests your attention. You perceive that his mind is morbid. A taint as of the charnel house rises from the page. The imagery moves amidst graves and skeletons. There is little sunlight; it gives place to moonlight, and the moon is shining upon broken tombs. Death is the great figure moving through this world; Death—and the Moral Death called Villainy—for which Life and Love are used but as foils of contrast. His hymns are dirges: his love songs have the plaintive wail of despair. To read his poems is like passing through galleries filled with Spanish pictures—endless variations of the theme of Death! Nothing but crucifixions, or emaciated monks seated in lonely sorrow gazing at a skull! Everywhere the Shadow of Death chilling the fair aspect of sunny Life!

Here are some samples:—

"*Marc. (solus.)* Then who hath solitude, like mine, that is not

The last survivor of a city's plague,
Eating the mess he cooked for his dead father?
Who is alone but I? there's fellowship,
In churchyards and in hell: but I!—no lady's ghost
Did ever cling with such a grasp of love
Unto its soft dear body, as I hung
Rooted upon this brother. I went forth
Joyfully, as the soul of one who closes
His pillowed eyes beside an unseen murderer,
And like its horrible return was mine,
To find the heart, wherein I breathed and beat,
Cold, gashed, and dead. Let me forget to love,
And take a heart of venom: let me make
A stair-case of the frightened breasts of men,
And climb into a lonely happiness!

Again:—

"*Ermin.* Had I been waked
By torchlight in my eyes, and by a voice
That said 'your babes are burning, stabbed your
husband,—
Room on your bosom for their murderer's kisses!'—
Why, that to this were tickling to a stab,
A pin-wound to an hell-jawed, laughing gash."

Again:—

"ANTICIPATION OF EVIL TIDINGS."

"I fear there is some maddening secret
Hid in your words (and at each turn of thought
Comes up a skull), like an anatomy
Found in a weedy hole, 'mongst stones and roots
And straggling reptiles, with his tongueless mouth
Telling of murder."

In short, Beddoes seems to be speaking through one of his characters when he makes him say—

"Methinks

The look of the world's a lie, a face made up
O'er graves and fiery depths: and nothing's true
But what is horrible."

We will add to these examples an exquisite passage:—

"*Lady.* And therefore earth and all its ornaments,
Which are the symbols of humanity
In forms refined, and efforts uncompleted,
Graceful and innocent, temper the heart
Of him who muses and compares them skillfully,

To glad belief and tearful gratitude.

This is the sacred source of poesy.

"*Sybil.* While we are young, and free from care,
we think so.

But, when old age or sorrow brings us nearer

To spirits and their interests, we see

Few features of mankind in outward nature;

But rather signs inviting us to heaven.

I love flowers too; not for a young girl's reason,

But because these brief visitors to us

Rise yearly from the neighbourhood of the dead,

To show us how far fairer and more lovely

Their world is; and return thither again,

Like parting friends that beckon us to follow,

And lead the way silent and smilingly.

Fair is the season when they come to us,

Unfolding the delights of that existence

Which is below us: 'tis the time of spirits,

Who with the flowers, and like them, leave their

graves:

But when the earth is sealed, and none dare come

Upwards to cheer us, and man's left alone,

We have cold, cutting winter. For no bridal,

Ex-eping with the grave, are flowers fit emblems."

We hope you have admired the sad beauty of these lines, and noted how even the flowers only recal to him the "neighbourhood of the dead"; and now read this on Immortality:—

"Can Wolfram die? Ay, as the sun doth set:

It is the earth that falls away from light;

Fixed in the heavens, although unseen by us,

The immortal life and light remain triumphant.

And therefore you shall never see me wail,

Or drop base waters of an ebbing sorrow;

No wringing hands, no sighings, no despair,

No mourning weeds will I betake me to;

But keep my thought of him that is no more,

As secret as great nature keeps his soul,

From all the world; and consecrate my being

To that divinest hope, which none can know of

Who have not laid their dearest in the grave.

Farewell, my love,—I will not say to thee

Pale corpse,—we do not part for many days.

A little sleep, a little waking more,

And then we are together out of life."

We close these passages with another on Death—to show how he rings the changes on his constant theme:—

"SWEET TO DIE.

"Is it not sweet to die? for, what is death,

But sighing that we ne'er may sigh again,

Getting at length beyond our tedious selves;

But trampling the last tear from poisonous sorrow,

Spilling our woes, crushing our frozen hopes,

And passing like an incense out of man?

Then, if the body felt, what were its sense,

Turning to daisies gently in the grass,

If not the soul's most delicate delight

When it does filtrate, through the pores of thought,

In love and the enamelled flowers of song?"

We must reserve for a future number the extracts which will show his genius under other aspects. If we have insisted somewhat on this one aspect of Death, it is because it is predominant in his poems, and indicates a morbid activity of mind.

MELLY'S KHARTOUM AND THE NILES.

Khartoum, and the Blue and White Niles. By George Melly. 2 vols. Colburn and Co.

(Second Notice.)

WE resume our extracts from this agreeable book, although limitations of space forbid our quoting half the passages we had marked.

Miss Martineau was the first to give our prepossessions in favour of the Camel a shock, and we hardly thanked her for it, though never doubting that her statement was nearer the truth than those eulogistic pictures of meekness and endurance which had given us our ideas of the Camel. Mr. Melly, though not quite so harsh to the "Ship of the Desert," is decidedly for protesting against the current notions.

"My earliest recollections of them are based on those veracious publications, in which elephants pick up young children and place them carefully on their backs, and camels gallop for days unreinforced over sandy deserts, never halting, though without both food and water—such are the camels of our tender years, such are not the camels of our experience. Instead of this poetic patience, they growl savagely, making one of the most disagreeable noises I ever heard, and turn round striving to get up as you load them. But when once their burden is properly adjusted they are perfectly quiet, and become tractable as soon as you have taken your seat.

"I had a camel from Dongola to Gebel Berkel, who would not let me turn on my saddle or put my hand in my pocket without turning viciously round with a fierce growl. I had another that by way of contrast would walk quietly to within shot of a covey

of partridges, then stop, and allow me a good aim at them. All camels, however, stand fire."

After longer experience he writes:—

"All my interest about these animals is lessening fast. It is impossible to imagine how provoking they can make themselves, and did contrive to make themselves, day after day. Some would run away—some, by way of contrast, not only would not run, they would not move. Some were always lying down—some could not be persuaded to kneel: but mine beat all the rest in camel-like amiability. On an average he howled six hours a day, a kind of music such as no one can conceive who has not heard it. He would stand doggedly still, till forced by blows to lie down; and every time I turned round, he howled fiercer than ever."

The lover of Natural History will regret that Mr. Melly should not have devoted more space to the record of his observations in that department, for which the opportunities were great. He keeps his eye open, however, and incidentally mentions many little facts:—

"It is curious to observe the prevalence of the sandy colour of the soil in the creatures that have to exist upon it. Sandy coloured eagles devour sandy coloured vipers and lizards, which in their turn prey on grasshoppers and slugs of the same complexion: and partridges and sparrows, by means of their resemblance to the ground, avoid the prying eyes of the falcons and hawks."

He did not see much of the Hippopotamus, but informs us that many hundred natives are on the look out for that elegant and fascinating animal, the British Consul having offered a reward of £1000 for two. The Arabs, not urged by scientific curiosity, and having no Zoological Gardens, regard the Hippo with other feelings than those which animate the British breast; for these beasts are numerous and destructive, not so much by eating as by trampling down whole fields of corn and beans. When Night descends, they emerge from the river and roll their unwieldy bodies in the fields, making a peculiar noise all the while. But the Arabs, though they know the sound and hate the beast, take no active measures to rid themselves of it, "probably because it is Allah's will, and partly, also, from their aversion to going out in the dark."

"The inhabitants of an island, a short distance below Berber, applied, while we were at Khartoum, for troops to drive away these midnight revellers, and a hundred soldiers were despatched hippopotami-hunting. Troops are made all sorts of uses of in the East; a battalion of infantry was sent boar-hunting in the Delta last year, owing to the great devastation committed by these animals who were rooting up acres of cotton. I think this sporting must be more amusing than the frontier work against the Shellouk tribes, north of Kordofan."

Who does not remember that story in Herodotus of Croesus, King of Lydia, to whom the people come imploring aid because "a great thing of a boar," as Herodotus in his naïve style calls it—*σὺς χρίμα μέγα*—is ravaging their country, and Croesus forthwith equips a troop of horsemen to despatch the monster. The passage just quoted calls it to mind. Indeed, as Mr. Melly remarks, it is impossible to traverse those countries without being everywhere delighted by coming upon some living commentary on ancient writers. But what reflections this fact suggests as to the slowness of Progress!

But we must not indulge reflections; rather let us accompany our author to Khartoum:—

"Khartoum, seen from the river, is a long mud wall, with several houses just peering above it, among which the most conspicuous is the residence of the Governor, with its offices, the old Government House, and the Catholic Chapel and Mission. We proceeded to the Governor's offices, through a large open ground, in which two companies of troops, the best dressed and accoutred of any I have seen since I left Europe, were changing guard, each company led by a soldier with a bedstead on his bayonet. He being the officer, and the only one allowed such a luxury, the rest always sleeping on the ground. We next arrived at a court in which were several brass pieces, then entered a large room fitted up with Turkish Divans and European chairs. This was "the Divan."

"At one end sat Latiffe Pacha, General in the Army, Admiral of the Fleet, and Governor of the Soudan, from Philæ to the furthest possessions of the Pacha of Egypt. He looks like a man capable of being all this and more, as he possesses a fine figure, a good face set off with a remarkably fair complexion, and a beautifully trimmed mustache and beard as black as jet. These advantages were assisted by the handsomest Asiatic dress I have seen—a suit of dark blue cloth, richly embroidered, red and gold

tunic waistcoat, and full sleeves of pink silk and gold, silk stockings, a magnificent scarf round his waist, tarboosh, diamond star, and several gold chains.

"On his right hand sat Ali Bey Hassib, the Governor of Berber, and a few other grandees sat near him, in full costume.

"His reception of us was very courteous: for a few minutes he spoke to the Governor of Berber; he then gave his entire attention to us, reading our firman, passport, and letters of introduction. The conversation was in Italian, of which he possesses a limited knowledge; we had, however, been told that he was also familiar with English and French. We inquired where it would be agreeable to him that we should pitch our tents; he answered by presenting us with a capital house. On asking where we could find a boat, he replied that his own would be ready for us in three days. On mentioning camels, he promised to have thirty ready to meet us at Berber. At a hint respecting the forwarding of our letters, he volunteered to send them by a special messenger from station to station on swift dromedaries to Assouan, whence men would run with them on foot to Cairo, and then they would proceed in the usual course. In short, he promised everything we wanted, gave us coffee and pipes, and then we took our leave."

The civility and attention they met with seem to have been unusual. Visits and presents followed fast:—

"Another visitor followed Monsieur R—; then came a basket of parsley, lettuce, radishes, pomegranates, lemons, and sugar-canes from the apothecary; and, finally, the Pacha's head man, with a small quantity of milk, and many apologies for the cows not being more productive.

"The next morning was passed in paying visits to our obliging friends. We first walked through a garden of vines, oranges, pomegranates, and jessamine trees, to the house of the apothecary; in an ante-room we met the doctor and one of the ministers of the Catholic Church. We then entered a large divan room, hung with Napoleon pictures, with its curtained windows looking particularly cool and comfortable. We sat round in solemn conclave, our friends in full Turkish costume, while lemonade, gezeuse, coffee, and pipes were handed round, conversing of the climate, the rate of mortality, diseases, and other lively matters too numerous to mention. I ascertained that there is a great mortality in children from three to seventeen years. If they survive that age, they live to their appointed time; but at thirty-five they look shrivelled and old; notwithstanding which, however, they manage to exist till eighty or ninety, and further south to a hundred.

"We next called on Monsieur R—, in whose yard we saw a young giraffe, about nine or ten feet high, and quite tame; and an antelope as large as a donkey, with two horns at least a yard long. Our friend had the best garden in Khartoum, with trellis-covered walks, made of vines, which bear throughout the year. We were received in a large room, with the usual devoirs, and found Monsieur R— transacting business with several native merchants, in their white robes, turbans, and scarfs. Afterwards came in a very intelligent Turk, handsomely dressed, and wearing a diamond star round his neck, who spoke French fluently. Like Latiffe Pacha, and many others here, he is in honourable banishment, deprived of the society of his wives and family."

Of course their appearance excited great speculation:—

"They are a little puzzled when they speculate upon what brought us to their remote corner of the world; and to add to their mystification, they cannot, for certain reasons, avoid regarding us with a considerable amount of respect, mingled with a slight addition of awe. The fact is, it has got abroad that our firman contained denunciations unusually stringent against all and sundry, who wanted to eat dirt by exhibiting the slightest degree of neglect or remissness in looking after our safety, comfort, and pleasure. Every one argues that such commands from such a source mean something, and the upshot is, that we were immediately set down as illustrious strangers of a most illustrious generation.

"Long before our arrival, rumours were in circulation respecting us that increased in extravagance every hour. Among other veracious statements, it was affirmed that a gentleman, with his harem, was known to be on the road, who was a Pacha with three tails; that he was adorned with three diamond stars on each breast and neck, and prodigious gold epaulettes on each shoulder. One of our friends, who knew something of us, was asked if the great man about to visit them really was greater than any Pacha of their acquaintance. Our friend set the matter at rest, by assuring his eager questioner that all Pachas were as nothing to the least of us, for they were obliged to do the bidding of their master—but that we were our own masters, and did exactly as we pleased. There was a fervent exclamation respecting the goodness of Allah, and the querist walked away, as an Irishman would phrase it, "bothered entirely."

The Arts.

VIVIAN AT THE BLOOMER BALL.

For a *fiasco* complete, extravagant, unredeemed, and unredeemable for the perfect frustration of all expectations, the Bloomer Ball given on Wednesday at the Hanover-rooms, transcends all my experience. *Palmas qui meruit ferat*; let merit carry off the palm, and the greatest of failures sinks abashed before this! The amount of excited curiosity may be estimated by the fact, that quite early in the evening the rooms were crowded with notabilities. Mixed up with a nameless fashionable mob, there were a German Duke, one of the Editors of a great morning journal, a Parliamentary Poet, the "handsomest man in Europe," an old beau of the peerage, a famous but fading baronet, *Punch*, several artists, certain peers, many blackguards, and such a *toku boku* as Kossuth himself could not gather together. But no women! What came the crowd to see? A Bloomer shaken in the waltz! Fifty Bloomers, a hundred Bloomers,—women young, daring, pleasure-loving, radiant in new and piquant costumes, saucy with the insolence of fascination, delirious with excitement, civilized Menads, *not* irreproachable in morals. That is what the crowd came to see, thinking that the lights, the music, the hum of voices, the bright glances of eyes flashing up from their languor, and the very air infected with gaiety, would form a fitting accompaniment to the New Costume, which was henceforth to invest the person of the "emancipated mind." That and nothing else. What did they see? A few, very few women of that class which it makes the heart ache to think of, in finery as poor and faded as their own unhappy lives!

How shall I describe my disappointment? At an hour when the bed candle is usually admitted, I closed one of the wisest books that was ever written, and left that study where the good and great keep serene empire, to dress myself for this Bloomer Ball, of which I had heard so much. What visions of lovely women lured me forth! what Syren voices called to me from the deeps! what made me anxious to be there, I am ashamed to think of! Enough, I went. A mob had collected in Hanover-square; and through this yelling mob, intolerant of innovation, loving a riot, and not fastidious in the selection of language, the cab made difficult way. Many Bloomers were discouraged, and turned back frightened. If it required some courage to adopt the costume, it required heroism to run the gauntlet of that mob's derision, which might at any moment end in violence. Many, therefore, turned back. When I entered the room there were not a dozen Bloomers present; and such Bloomers!—ye Gods, such Guys! Two or three "emancipated minds," with persons endowed, I am willing to believe, with great "beauty of intellect," but otherwise not prepossessing—these evidently the Priestesses of the New Creed—walked about, hard and triumphant. The others were of that class which no man can think of seriously without ineffable sadness, and of them this pen shall write no word approaching to ridicule.

These dozen women were scattered through the rooms crowded with men, who jeered, leered, and cheered them as they danced. I told you of the mob outside. The mob inside was as brutal, only better dressed, and wearing moustachios for the most part. Had the Bloomers been Monkeys exhibiting for money, the men would have behaved more politely! It was no doubt a painfully grotesque sight, that of the Bloomer Quadrille: women aged in their youth, with a look at once faded and bold, dressed like the actresses of a strolling company, intensely conscious of being looked at, and dancing with loose legged cavaliers, picked up Heaven knows where—a sight such as I shall never forget, so painful, so absurd, so hideous. And this was a Ball! If Bloomerism is not utterly discredited and extinguished by this, I shall be amazed. Who could for a moment compare the costume there worn with that of an ordinary ball dress? No one but a child or a bumpkin who thinks the actresses at a Fair are "radiant forms of light."

About one o'clock there came an accession of Bloomers, a bevy of Gauls, somewhat better dressed, but the Bartholomew Fair stamp ineffaceable on all. As the men seemed to get more and more riotous, I thought it time to depart, and I did so, convinced that Bloomerism was quashed. I remembered that a Lady Correspondent from Dresden had told me

how the Tailors there have taken a large building in the *Altmarkt* which they christen *Academie der Kleiderkunst*, or Academy of the Art of Tailoring, and are there occupied in inventing a sort of national costume, in order to do away with French fashions, against which their pride revolts. Success to them! But this appears to me to be the case with all reforms, whether of politics, language, or costume, viz., they must pass to a higher stage through modifications of existing things. Bloomerism will fail as the Phonetic System failed—the change is too sudden, the leap too great.

Home I drove, sad and thoughtful. My expectations had not only been disappointed, but I had seen Human Nature under aspects by no means favourable: the mob outside, the mob inside, and those poor creatures flaunting in satin, driving one's thoughts in upon one's soul to brood there in sadness. Above shone the cold stars, distant and dim. Around all was silent. My wearied head was soon reposing on the pillow, and I too passed into silence.

THEATRES.

Want of space prevents our doing more than simply recording that Miss LAURA KEENE made a successful debut at the *Olympic in the Lady of Lyons*; that MORRIS BARNET has worked up an old and amusing story into a very amusing farce, *Circumstantial Evidence*, at the *Strand Theatre*; that Miss GLYN has been reading Shakspeare at the *Whittington Club*; and that *Ingomar*, that queer German play (in which ANDERSON made a dash at low comedy) has been revived at *Sadler's Wells* to give PHELPS the part of the Barbarian, which we hear he plays very skillfully.

Organizations of the People, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

INFLUENCE OF CO-OPERATION ON PUFFING.

An Association of Journeyman Hatters have commenced business at 12, Broughton-road, Salford. The miseries of unlimited competition, the abuse of the power of capital, have taught the working classes that "union is their only strength"! but painful experience has likewise shown that strength to be wasted, for the most part, in combinations for the raising of wages, in the forced idleness of strikes. By united labour, therefore, they now seek to maintain themselves and their families, and if not in every instance able to compete with the nominal cheapness of the low-priced tradesman, they hope in the quality and workmanship of their goods to guarantee to all customers the fullest value of their orders.

Those who look beyond the work to the worker, who feel that custom itself has its morality, and that the working classes of England have been stunted of their due reward in money, health, and knowledge, will surely aid a movement which tends to substitute airy workshops for dens of filth and fever, fair prices for starvation wages, fellowship for division, and moral as well as practical self-government for mechanical obedience, or thralldom bitterly felt, and by the peaceful, healthy, intelligent, and gradual processes of labour, to check the blind and sudden struggles of want.

The Old Garratt Store, Manchester, is a new store, doing a portion of its business with the Central Agency of London. At No. 31, Brook-street, Old Garratt, near the Carpenters' hall, this industrial coöperative association has been established by working men. The objects of this society are to supply its members and others with articles of consumption of the best quality at a reasonable rate, and to direct them to the production of agricultural and manufactured wealth, so as to supply their material and educational wants, improve their social and domestic condition, and generally diffuse the benefits of coöperative unity. The capital is raised in one pound shares, each member has two shares, and pays one shilling for entrance fee, and instalments of not less than threepence per week, until the whole be paid up, five per cent. per annum interest allowed on all paid up shares. The profits after retaining one tenth for *secular educational purposes*, and one tenth for a sunk fund will be divided amongst the members in proportion to their outlay. In case of sickness or distress, a part of the shares may be withdrawn, thus answering the purposes of a Trades' Union, Benefit Society, or Savings Bank, and industrious classes and all in the district who are desirous of seeing the present system of isolation superseded, are asked to give them all the assistance in their power.

This store does not yet receive all the support it has a right to expect from friends near, able to add useful influence to its proceedings, and in some moral measure pledged to do so. But on another visit I hope to find it possessing the coöperation of all its rightful allies.

The store at 13, Swan-street, Manchester, under the superintendence of Mr. Lloyd Jones, is a branch of the Central Agency, 76, Charlotte-street, London. It is well situated, well stocked and bears the appearance of a promising business shop.

The account of the two stores first named is rendered (with slight omissions) in the words of the placards issued by the directors, and it is on this account chiefly, that I use their statements. The old verbiage and bombast, which pretended to cure all human ills, and reform the entire navigable world, by a single grocer's

shop, or isolated hatter's block, is now falling into desuetude; and a modest good sense, moderate in its professions, but not less faithful in performance, is taking the place of the old hyperbolism of reform.

All over East Lancashire I observe new mills being erected, all of them large, many of them elegant structures, much more elegant and tasteful than their commonplace, gloomy, prison-like predecessors. The cotton-trade people flourish in these days. At Padiham the working classes are taking advantage of this vegetable prosperity. Seventy-five operatives have subscribed as many shares of £25, and built an admirable mill, both as respects strength and style. Its complete fitting up with machinery will raise its entire cost to about £7000. The shares are being augmented to effect its finish. Its rise has been rapid. When I went over it a few weeks ago its machinery was beginning to be placed in it. If these operatives do not get rich by their plan, they are pretty certain to get knowledge, position, and the inculcable pleasure of being their own masters. Already it is being spoken of as an asylum for some men who, on account of their opinions, have been injured in their employment by other masters. Thus coöperation enables these operatives to become the protectors of their own class.

It is not likely that any of these new capitalists will fall into the narrow selfishness of too many of the present race of masters. These rising coöperators everywhere make provision for the education and final emancipation of their employes, which promises a better future for industry.

Some political lecturers have lately been round, speaking against coöperation, on the ground that it makes men into masters and capitalists. So much the better. The more the merrier. Let the workman have his turn; no harm will happen if the chance comes round to every man.

Any how there will come moral good out of these coöperative schemes. The pretension of honesty is good—it leads to reality. Protesting, as all coöperators do, against the present false system of trade, they endeavour to avoid it, and bit by bit they succeed. Witness the plain, and therefore pleasant, statement made by the Central Coöperative Agency of London, of the goods they supply. They confer (as I have observed in a former letter) as much benefit on society by the quality of their statements as by the quality of their articles; and all coöperation inclines to proportional language. Disliking competition, it naturally avoids its besetting vice of exaggeration to sell its strife-begotten wares.

Puffing has become a moral nuisance which ought no longer to be endured. When a man tells me, as is done by show bills at many stations on the Midland line, that my "railway expenses may be saved" by buying his tea at his shop, I not only disbelieve him, I am disgusted with him and his tea too. If I do not soon learn to dislike tea itself, I am sure that I could no more drink the decoction procured from — than I could Epsom Salts, in which Pil. cochina had been dropped with a view to flavour it. If a tradesman tells me he has "the finest bacon ever imported," how am I to prove it; and if I cannot prove it, why does he tell it me? Am I to take his word? A dozen other Corn-factors, in the same street, tell me the same thing. The "finest" hog that ever was, cannot have been large enough to have filled a dozen shops at once. He who tells me what I cannot prove, and what I cannot believe, must mean to deceive me; and if he will deceive me in his window, now do I know that he will not deceive me over his counter? The man who will lie in his placard, will not scruple to lie in his dealings. I am sure that there is a widespread sickness being felt at this offensive inflation; and even poor and humble tradesmen in every part of the country are conceiving a repugnance to the practice, and refusing to fall in with it, and poorer working-men (from whom it is not to be expected), and from poor working-women (from whom it is less to be expected), are avoiding those shops which offend taste and truth in their puffings. I have seen this done, and have ascertained it by questioning, and I know that the day is coming when the trade of truth will be as profitable as the trade of falsehood is now. I ought to write *has been*, for I am glad to be able to say that the trade of falsehood does not pay now half so well as it did, and is altogether a "losing game" in many places.

SINCERITY AND TRUTH BEFORE ALL THINGS.—The feeling which we are considering (Conscientiousness) is the most important of all, because it regulates the proper action of all the others, by confining them within the bounds of what is right. It makes us desire "to do to others as we would they should do to us," and to love truth and sincerity above all things. It is painfully evident to all who think upon the subject, how much the world needs the proper cultivation, exercise, and direction of this faculty. It is disheartening to contemplate the vast area which "Vanity Fair" occupies, in which each acts a part, each wears a mask, each endeavours to deceive his neighbour by passing for something more or less than he is, and each is satisfied with mere seeming, without being or doing. Love of approbation is the prime mover; the craving for distinction, not excellence—to appear, not to be. Praise is the grand desideratum; and as to be virtuous is often too difficult or too troublesome, the semblance is assumed of whatever will best secure the approbation of society. The development of a large conscientiousness can alone counteract the wide-spreading and infectious tendency. We must strengthen the love of truth, of sincerity, of candour, in our children, and begin early to make them feel heartily ashamed of taking credit which is not strictly their due. Never neglect an opportunity of showing how mean, how dishonest it is.—*Education of the Feelings, by Charles Bray.*



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profit by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF'S CHARGE.

October 27, 1851.

SIR,—As you profess to conduct your paper for a social and religious purpose, I take for granted that you would not desire to accomplish your object by unrighteous means.

You stated in your number for October 11, that the Bishop of Llandaff, in his recent charge, has made the "crushing confession," that "the Church of England is not the Church of the people;" and you have given with inverted commas the words, "Still, the Church of England is not the Church of the people," as if these were the Bishop's words. Now, the fact is, that the Bishop never said anything of the sort. His words, which are garbled as above, are these:—

"The Church of this diocese, it cannot be denied, is not, to the extent which we should desire, the Church of the people."

You have applied to the Church generally what he only said of the Church in the diocese of Llandaff; and you have altogether omitted the qualification with which he has made the statement even with respect to that. You have kept back from your readers the fact, that in thirty years the population of the diocese has increased from 150,000 to 357,000, which is sufficient to account for and explain the statement; and you have shut your eyes to the Bishop's words, p. 53, in which he is speaking of the Church of England, and says:—"Our Church is not, as it is too frequently regarded in Wales, the Church of the rich only, but of the poor also."

Sir, I take for granted that truth is your object, and persuade myself that you will not hesitate to retract a statement which you have so incautiously made.

A CLERGYMAN OF THE DIOCESE OF LLANDAFF.

THE TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.

48, Mornington-place, October 24, 1851.

SIR,—Finding from the remarks upon me in your paper of the 18th instant, that you have been led into a gross error, in consequence of the inaccuracy of a part of the report of the inauguration of the Temperance League, at Exeter-hall, I beg to set you right in that matter.

In that report I am stated to have asked—"Did any of them think that our Saviour ever partook of wine?" Whereas it should have been, "ever made or partook of intoxicating wine?" The effect of this omission, I am sure you will allow, entirely alters the character of my question.

Being chairman upon that occasion, a paper was handed to me, with the question of, "What do the teetotalers say to the miracle of our Saviour turning the water into wine?" This paper I read, and stated, for the information of the querist, that the teetotalers had already largely discussed that subject, and also settled it to their entire satisfaction; and that their opinions might be found in various Temperance publications. Now, as this question was put to teetotalers, and as I was then addressing a large number of those persons, I asked "If any of them thought that our Saviour ever made or partook of intoxicating wine?" The universal reply was "No."

After this explanation you will, no doubt, find that you owe me an apology. The insertion of this letter will, however, satisfy—Yours respectfully,
GEO. CRUICKSHANK.

HOMŒOPATHY A HUMBUG.

Liverpool, October 27, 1851.

SIR,—That a whole page of your most excellent paper should have been sacrificed, in its last number, to such a subject as Homœopathy, terming it "The Medical Question of the Day," caused me no very agreeable surprise. Why, Sir, there is not a right-thinking and honest man, who, after giving the matter a fair and close examination, has not pronounced Homœopathy an insane idea or a vile deception.

A few weeks since, the renowned chemist Liebig, being at a dinner party in Liverpool, his opinion of Hahnemann's doctrines was asked; and his reply was:—"Sir, we have no word in the German language sufficiently expressive; but there is one in English most suitable: it is humbug!"

Well, it is proposed to found in this country a college for its students! Truly, the names of its appointed professors would be immortal; but who would enviously desire to share their future celebrity?

Your always very attentive reader and subscriber,
VIDEO.

TO JOSEPH MAZZINI.

London, October 27, 1851.

FRIEND AND BROTHER,—A nation, like a man, is only responsible for its own deeds. It is free will alone that constitutes the ground of morality. The slave can do no wrong.

It is very true that, whether we speak of men or aggregates of men, the world has none but willing slaves. None need serve but such as deserve it. It is certainly no man's fault but our own, or of our fathers, if we Italians live in a state of division and thralldom. A little more wisdom on their part, a little more daring on our own, would either have placed us above all need of revolution, or would render it a very short and easy work. Matters stand, however, we have lost the privilege of judging and acting for ourselves. If, for instance, we think we had enough of the Pope, and turn him out, up start the Catholic powers, up, if need be, start the schismatic and heretic also, and force him down our throats. It is for a cessation of this humiliating state of things that an Italian would give his life. For my own part, were it possible to rid Italy of her foreign rulers, and so to strengthen her by any bond of union or unity as to screen her from future outrage on their part, I should deem rebellion or conspiracy in Italy the most unnatural of crimes.

Give me a country, and my very love for it will make me a Conservative.

I do not mean by that that I would sit down and put up with brutalizing despotism or arrogant aristocracy, but henceforth all opposition should be pacific and legal. I would only trust the unerring instincts of human progress, the omnipotence and incomprehensibility of opinion. I think that all political problems, with the exception of the sacred principle of nationality, are so many-sided and complicated that they can only admit of calm and deliberate solution; a recourse to violent means, an appeal to the sword, is only likely to lead to the establishment of the right of the strongest. This is as much as to say that, warmly as I advocate revolution in Italy, in Poland, in Hungary, earnestly would I deprecate and abhor it in France, England, or America; and much as I find to love and admire in you, I can feel no sympathy with Ledru Rollin or with other French agitators with whom you associate. Their cause is not our cause. The French have been their own masters since the days of Louis XI. Surely it cannot be supposed that a weak bigot like that king, a sickly voluptuary like his successor, a stage-humbug like the "Grand Monarch," or any other of their Valois or Bourbons, or that Louis Philippe or Louis Napoleon, could keep so many millions in check, if the vast majority of those millions were not at heart little Valois or Bourbons, Louis Philippes and Louis Napoleons in miniature. Have not the French for the last sixty years tried all that revolution can do for them? and has not every successive attempt carried them a step further from what men understand to be rational freedom? Is not every idol they have set up a thousand times more helpless, more hideous, more contemptible, and yet more powerful, more successful in his libetricide attempts, than his predecessor? Napoleon, Louis Philippe, Louis Napoleon! Truly a pitiable climax!

But you will say, "What blinds the people to their own interests, what makes them forgetful of their dignity, their honour, their manhood, is their helpless ignorance, their inexperience of public life, the thousand religious and political trammels with which the long prevalence of abuse and conventionality has cumbered them. It is only by violence that such fetters can be shaken off. The whole edifice is rotten. Total demolition must precede all attempts at reconstruction."

It may be so, though I do not think so. Let it be granted that the majority are wrong and the minority right, what can be gained by a plot or a riot, by a *coup de main*, which may, for a moment, give the minority the helm of the state? On the morrow of a successful revolution, the people will be found "not ripe." It will not understand the new theories; for, most assuredly, the morrow of a popular strife is not the fittest season for their calm examination; and the very dread of innovation, surprise, and indignation, will easily bring the stolid multitude to countenance the blindest reaction.

Wherever the law is of indigenous growth, it is well to train the people in the religion of it; to teach them to rely on legal means alone for its revision and improvement. The law should be the fate of a nation up to the very eve of its revocation. It is by dint of tampering with it that the French have brought

themselves to a state of incurable anarchy, and that a constitution is for them a *lucus a non lucendo*, so called from its instability.

I repeat it, Mazzini, there is nothing common between the French democrats and yourself, nothing common between France and Italy. We are urging forward claims to what is most indisputably our own, the land of our forefathers, our own control over our destinies. We do not, as the French, make our own laws; not we, not even our princes and rulers. Every opposition, even that of the smuggler, outlaw, and bandit, is patriotism in Italy.

As there is nothing common between us and France or other nations placed in the same autonomic situation, so there is little to be hoped, nothing to be expected, from their sympathy or fraternity. There might be some sense in joining our fellow-sufferers of Poland, Hungary, and perhaps Germany, though the events of 1848 have satisfied us that national selfishness develops itself even before the establishment of well defined nationality.

We, Italians, have no friends beyond the Alps or the sea, as that poor Charles Albert had it, "Italy must act for itself, and by itself alone;" and I do not thank you, Mazzini, for clinging closer and closer to your foreign democratic confederates, in proportion as love of conciliation, and a spirit of just moderation estrange some of your most honest compatriots from you. You have made the cause of Italy a secondary matter, subservient to what you call the great cause of humanity. But this cause, that is, the solution of the great democratic and social problems, is in France, in England, and in America, a subject of home debate, to be decided by free discussion in those countries where such freedom exists; a subject on which, if I am not much mistaken, mere recourse to physical force will have but little influence, and should have none.

As a man, no doubt, your voice will be heard with deference by your new associates; but as an Italian, and speaking in the name of Italy, you will only be laughed at if you meddle in questions that, for the present, concern us not. Italy has, as yet, no vote in the great community of nations; she should never open her lips until she has indicated her rights to speak. The negro in the United States must first secure the success of emancipation, ere he settles in his own mind whether Whig or Locofoco politics are more to his taste.

It is possible that the Whigs or the Locofoci will try to enlist the negro in their respective causes by holding out false hopes, and by leading him to believe that the cause of abolition is wound up in that of their party; but I only pity the poor slave if he gives in to their suggestions, for I know that for what concerns him all parties are equally indifferent, if not actually hostile.

Now, I think this is precisely our case with respect to Ledru Rollin and the minority in France, no matter what party it may belong to. They are liberal enough of their promises whilst out of power. But put Ledru Rollin in Louis Napoleon's place, reassure him from all fears on the part of Austria and Russia, and you will see what becomes of the *solidarity of Peoples* and brotherhood of nations.

Mazzini, ours is an honest cause; theirs—if they expect anything in France from plot or riot—is a dishonest one. All revolution is unallowed, save only where its object is the vindication of national rights. Against all other evils, persuasion, legal and peaceful agitation, must afford sufficient remedy. The good citizen in a self-governing country steps before his ruler, even the worst of rulers, and cries, "Strike, but hear!" He expects no permanent good from a subversion of order and violation of the law. He looks upon civil strife as the worst of evils; he wishes for no bloodshed except his own, if he thinks that his cause is in need of a martyr. There can be no harm in being a Republican in France or in England. But that is matter of opinion, and opinion can only prevail by force of reasoning. We must talk or write about it till, like the Reform Bill or the Free Trade Bill, it becomes the will of the nation when kings will be gracious enough to make their bow and carry with them into private life the thanks and respect of their people.

But I have too long discoursed about what concerns us not; only we must conclude that beyond our boundaries we may make individual friendships, but can expect no help, or even sympathy, from any country or party. This is a favourite conclusion with me, and I never come to it without thanking and praising God that he has so ordained. God enables us, as he enables all other nations, to suffice to ourselves, if we rely on ourselves alone, if we find our own resources merely in our unanimity and determination.

But you will ask me, "How is this concord and resolution amongst Italians to be brought about?" My answer will be the subject of the next letter, the last I shall address you. Meanwhile, as a first means of establishing a good understanding amongst us, Mazzini, I advise you, as you love your country, depart from your present associates! Separate your cause from that of France, no matter whether Republican or otherwise. You have had enough of French experience. It was for that People, it was

for men like those who are now flattering you, that in 1848 you broke off from those of your countrymen with whom you had but lately joined hands at the universal reconciliation of parties in the month of January of that year, and came back in March a *frondeur* at Milan, looking on what you called a "Royal war," as if it were no concern of yours, as if the blood of those Royal soldiers, and of their King himself, were not sacred Italian blood spilt for the dear sake of our national redemption!

Truly, Mazzini, you had your reward. "The French," you said, "could only be expected to come forward to the rescue of a republic." At the head of a republic you placed yourself at Rome; and before you uttered a cry of distress—before you were in any need of them as friends—down the French came upon you as enemies! Surely that republican fratricide will stand forth in history as the greatest of human enormities.

But, you insist, Louis Napoleon was not France, nor his Ministers, nor the National Assembly. It may suit your purpose to say that Ledru Rollin alone is France. For myself, I remember the time when, by a *coup de main*, Ledru Rollin put himself at the head of the French nation, and the nation chose, and chooses still, to bow down to other idols. What would you? The French have long been, and are, governing themselves on the broadest popular basis. In fact, it was only a Government so constituted that could thus act in the teeth of all sense and justice. Such a degree of irresponsibility to God and man can only be attained by a sovereign People. I contend that the taking of Rome, the disenfranchisement of numbers of electors, the expulsion of exiles, the refusal of a short refuge to Kossuth—all that is most hideous and odious in Louis Napoleon's career—is done in compliance with the will of the French people: "not of the whole of the people," you will say; "not of its soundest part." Of that part of it, I answer, which wields the power and gives it.

"But," again you say, "the French are only feeling their way towards real freedom. Every revolution brings about the disenchantment of some fond predilection, the demolition of some popular idol. The education of the People is ever advancing, though only by fits and starts. Its regeneration will require the baptism of endless successive revolutions. Louis Napoleon, too, will pass away, and with him the prestige of his uncle's name. The French will be cured of Bonapartism as they are of Bourbonism. Men must be levelled with the ground that the cause of mankind may prevail."

I will not contend that it may not be so. But if it really be so, would it be wise on our part to build our hopes in a country that is yet at the A B C of its political existence; a country in a state of perpetual transition? I defy any man to state what positive, permanent tendency the French have developed during these last sixty years of popular commotions. Riots without an end we have seen, but nothing like revolution, nothing like progress towards the reign of reason and justice, nothing like the foundation of a law, nothing like the establishment of personal freedom.

Truly, were I Frenchman—and I thank God I am not—I would not be a Ledru-Rollinian. I should say, "enough of riots, enough of ill-lavished civil blood." In spite of fine or imprisonment the Word is free in that country. Seizures, arrests, banishments, can only give it all the importance and dignity of martyrdom. With all fines and imprisonments either is the Word omnipotent, or else mankind is incurable.

Truly, there is enough—and not in France merely—that would lead us to despair of the human race. What has freedom of institutions, and holiness of religious creed, done in America towards the mitigation of the evils of slavery—or towards prevention of its aggravation? Go and inquire of the bleeding negro, or of the trodden Mexicans, what they think of "republican solidarity of Peoples." What has an unshackled press, the most unbounded freedom of inquiry, done towards curing the Irish, the French, Swiss, or Belgians of the most disgusting, degrading practices of Roman Catholicism? How did mere reason defend Switzerland from Jesuitic intrigues, or England from Papal Aggressions? Behold in this country, in the teeth of its laws, of its truth-sifting sects, of its millions of millions of Bibles, at every step you stumble on a new convent or nunnery. I know nothing more humbling or disheartening. But shall we, for all this, give up persuasion and resort to violent means? No, a thousand times no! Revolution, like tyrannical oppression, persuades no man; it only embitters and maddens many. Against all moral evils there is no remedy save the half-exploded, inefficient, yet only remedy, of an incessant appeal to reason.

Luckily for us, in Italy it is not a moral, but a physical evil we have to contend with. Shall we mar our good, tangible cause by mixing it up with extraneous questions, questions that have well-nigh driven mad the most upright and indefatigable lovers of mankind.

No! the sword alone can rid us of the Austrians; but we will leave it to the tongue or pen to settle all other political or social, moral or religious disputes.

L. MARIOTTI.

NOTE.—Any one or more of the articles may be selected at the above prices. And all orders for £5 and upwards will be forwarded free of any part of the kingdom. Note, therefore, the address, BENEFITINK and Co., 69 and 90, Cheap-side, London and if you are about to furnish, and want to buy economical and tastefully visit this establishment.

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY,

INSTITUTED UNDER TRUST, TO COUNTERACT THE SYSTEM OF ADULTERATION AND FRAUD NOW PREVAILING IN THE TRADE, AND TO PROMOTE THE PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

Trustees—Edward Vanillart Neale, Esq. (Founder of the Institution); and Thomas Hughes, Esq. (one of the Contributors). Commercial Firm—Leather, Wedin, Jones, and Co. Central Establishment—75, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-sq., London. Branch Establishments—35, Great Marylebone-street, Portland-place, London; and 13, Swan-street, Manchester.

The Agency is instituted for a period of 100 years. Its objects are to counteract the system of adulteration and fraud now prevailing in the trade; to deal as agents for the consumers in purchasing the articles for their consumption, and for the producers in selling their produce; to promote the progress of the principle of Association; to find employment for co-operative associations by the collection of orders to be executed under special guarantee to the consumers.

A commercial firm, acting under the permanent control of trustees, has been found the safer and more acceptable mode of carrying out these objects according to law. The agency consists, therefore, of trustees, contributors, subscribers, and a commercial partnership.

The capital required for the wholesale and retail business having been supplied by the founder and the first contributors, no express call is made at present, either for contributions or subscriptions. The capital will be further increased after the public have been made acquainted with the objects of the institution, and have experienced its mode of dealing.

Customers, after three months' regular dealing, are entitled to a bonus, to be fixed according to the amount of their transactions by the council of the agency, consisting of the trustees and partners.

After payment of all expenses, salaries, profits, and bonuses returned to contributors, subscribers, and regular customers, the general profits are to be accumulated, part to form a reserve fund, and part to promote co-operative associations.

Business transacted wholesale and retail. Subscribers, Co-operative Stores, Working Men's Associations, Regular Customers, and the Public supplied.

The Agency intend hereafter to undertake the execution of all orders for any kind of articles or produce; their operations for the present are restricted to GROCERIES, WINES, and ITALIAN ARTICLES, as a specimen of what can be done with the support of co-operative customers.

Rules have been framed and printed to enable any number of families of all classes, in any district of London, or any part of the country, to form themselves into "Friendly Societies" for enjoying the benefit of Co-operative Stores. To be sent by post to parties forwarding four stamps.

Particulars of the nature and objects of the Central Co-operative Agency, with a Digest of the Deed of Settlement, are to be found in the printed report of a meeting held at the Central Office of the Agency. To be sent by post to parties forwarding 4 stamps.

A list of articles with the wholesale prices for Co-operative Stores, and a detailed Catalogue for private customers, will also be sent by post on payment of one postage stamp for the Wholesale List, and two for the Catalogue.

Particulars, Rules, List, and Catalogue will be forwarded immediately on receipt of ten postage stamps.

All communications to be addressed to MM. Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co., at the Central-office, 75, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

ORDERS FOR THE ASSOCIATIONS OF WORKING MEN ALREADY IN EXISTENCE—BUTLERS, PRINCES, BAKERS, TAILORS, SHOEMAKERS, NEEDLEWOMEN, CAN BE SENT THROUGH THE AGENCY, AND WILL RECEIVE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.

Particulars of the regular Monthly Mail Steam Conveyance and of the additional lines of communication, now established by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company with the East, &c. The Company book passengers, and receive goods and parcels as heretofore for CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, and HONG KONG, by their steamers, starting from SOUTHAMPTON on the 30th of every month, and from SUZ on or about the 10th of the month.

One of the Company's first-class steamers will also be despatched from Southampton for Alexandria, as an extra ship, on the 3rd of November next, in combination with an extra steamer, to leave Calcutta on or about the 20th of October. Passengers may be booked, and goods and parcels forwarded by these extra steamers to or from SOUTHAMPTON, ALEXANDRIA, ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, and CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY—The Company will likewise despatch from Bombay, about the 1st of November next, and of every alternate month thereafter, a first-class steam-ship for Aden, to meet there the Company's ships between Calcutta and Suze; and at Alexandria one of the Company's steam-ships will receive the passengers, parcels, and goods, and convey them to Southampton, calling at Malta and Gibraltar.

But passengers, parcels, and goods for BOMBAY and WESTERN INDIA will be conveyed throughout from Southampton in the mail steamers, leaving Southampton on the 20th of October, and the corresponding vessels from Suze to Aden, at which latter port a steam-ship of the Company will be in waiting to embark and convey them to Bombay.

Passengers for Bombay can also proceed by this Company's steamers of the 30th of the month to Malta, thence to Alexandria by her Majesty's steamers, and from Suze by the Honourable East India Company's steamers.

MEDITERRANEAN—MALTA—On the 20th and 29th of every month. Constantinople—On the 29th of the month. Alexandria—On the 29th of the month.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL—Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of the month.

N.B. Steam-ships of the Company not only direct between Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and between Hong Kong and Shanghai.

For further information and tariff of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Office, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

OFFICE FOR PATENTS, BRITISH AND FOREIGN, AND REGISTRATION OF DESIGNS.

Conducted by Mr. J. G. WILSON, C. E., 18, Great George-street (opposite the Abbey), Westminster. Every description of business connected with the Patent and Design Office, and assistance in ascertaining the novelty of their Inventions, and with Capital when required. Office hours, Ten to Four o'clock.

COCOA is a nut which, besides farinaceous substance, contains a bland oil. The oil in this nut has one advantage, which is, that it is less liable than any other oil to rancidity. Possessing these two nutritive substances, Cocoa is become a most valuable article of diet, more particularly if, by mechanical or other means, the farinaceous substance can be so perfectly incorporated with the oil, that the one will prevent the other from rancidity. Such a union is presented in the Queen's proprietary JAMES EPPS, and thus, the whole preparation will agree with the most delicate stomach.

JAMES EPPS, Homoeopathic Chemist, 112, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, and 82, Old Broad-street, City, London.

THOMAS COOPER, Author of "The Purgatory of Suicides," &c., delivers Oration on the following subjects:—

The Genius of SHAKESPEARE, as displayed in his "Hamlet;" with Readings and Recitations from the Play, the Music of Ophelia's Songs, &c.

The Life and Genius of MILTON; with Recitations from "Paradise Lost," &c.

The Life and Genius of BURNS; with the Music of some of his Songs, Recitations of "Tam o' Shanter," &c.

The Life and Genius of BYRON; with Readings and Recitations from his Works.

The Life and Genius of SHELLEY; with Readings and Recitations from his Works.

CIVILIZATION: What it was in the Past—What it effects for Man in the Present—and the Universal Human Happiness it must produce in the Future.

THE ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH: Founders of the Struggle—Coke, Seldon, Eliot, Pym, Hampden, &c.—Despotism of the King, and Tyranny of Land—Civil War—Death of Hampden—Battle of Naseby—Imprisonment, Trial, and Execution of Charles I.

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789: its Causes, and Progress of Events from its commencement to the Execution of Louis 16th.

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The Life and Character of NAPOLEON.

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COLUMBUS; and the Discovery of America.

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WILIAM TELL; and the Deliverance of Switzerland.

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MARLBOROUGH, Court Influence, and the Reign of ANNE.

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Administration of PITT; and its Influence on our own Times.

The Life and Character of the late SIR ROBERT PERE: his Influence on our Age; and a Glance at Coming Events, which "Cast their Shadows before."

The Wrongs of IRELAND.

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With numerous Serial Discourses: such as, Four on Astronomy, Ten on the History of Greece, Sixteen on Roman History, Twelve on British History, six on Pagan History, Four on the German People, Four on the Slavonic People, &c. &c.

TERMS, TO WORKING MEN ONLY.

(Paying my own Travelling* and other personal Expenses.)

For One Oration, Two Pounds.

For Two Orations—the one delivered on the night following the other—Three Pounds.

For any number of Orations, delivered on successive nights, Thirty Shillings each.

5, Park-row, Knightsbridge, London.

* N.B. When the distance from London is great, and a special journey has to be made from the Metropolis, of course, some allowance for extra travelling expenses will be expected.

[I am open to engagements after Christmas: until then, my appointments are as follows:—November 2, John-street, London; 3, Winchester; 4, Salisbury; 5 and 6, Southampton; 9, City-road; London; 10, 11, and 12, Portsmouth; 13 and 14, Hastings; 16, John-street; 17, 18, and 19, Nottingham; 20 and 21, Derby; 23, City-road; 24, Worcester; 25 and 26, Pershore; 27 and 28, Reading; 30, John-street. December 1, Cheltenham; 2 and 3, Evesham; 4 and 5, Reading; 7, City-road; 8, Leicester; 9 and 10, Wakefield; 11 and 12, ; 14, John-street; 15 and following days, Norwich, Lowestoft, &c.; 21, City-road; 25 and 26, John-street.—T. C.]

APPLICATIONS OF GUTTA PERCHA.

DOMESTIC, &c.—Soles for Boots and Shoes, Lining for Cisterns, &c., Picture Frames, Looking-glass Frames, Ornamental Mouldings, Bowls, Drinking Cups, Jars, Soap Dishes, Vases, Ornamental Ink-stands, Noiseless Curtain Rings, Card, Fruit, Pin, and Pen Trays, Tooth-brush Trays, Shaving-brush Trays, Window-blind Cord, Clothes' Line, Drain and Soil Pipes, Tubing for Watering Gardens, &c., Lining for Bonnets, Watch Stands, Shells, and Lighter Stands, SURGICAL—Splints, Thin Sheet for Bandages, Stethoscopes, Ear Trumpets, Bed Straps, and Bedpans for Invalids. CHEMICAL—Carboys, Vessels for Acids, &c., Siphons, Tubing for conveying Oils, Alkalies, &c., Flasks, Bottles, Lining for Tanks and Funnel. MANUFACTURING—Buckets, Mill Bands, Pump Buckets, Edging, Boxes, Shuttle Beds, Washers, Round Bands and Cord, Brushes for Water-Wheels, POE OFFICES, &c.—Wafer Holders, Ink-stands, Ink-cups, Pen Trays, Oak Bowls, Washing Basins, &c., Tubes for Conveying Messages, Canvas for covering Books, &c., and Plan Cases. AGRICULTURAL—Tubing for Liquid Manure, Lining for Manure Tanks, Traces, and Whips. ELECTRICAL, &c.—Covering for Electric Telegraph Wire, Insulating Stools, Battery Cells, and Electrotype Moulds. ORNAMENTAL—Medallions, Brackets, Cornices, Mouldings in imitation of Carved Oak, Rosewood, &c., and Picture Frames. USES ON SHIPBOARD—Life Buoy, Buckets, Pump Buckets, Hand Speaking Trumpets, Drinking Cups, Waterproof Canvas, Life Boat Cells, Tubes for Pumping Water from the Hold to the Deck, Round and Twisted Cord, Lining for Boxes. MISCELLANEOUS—Suction Pipes for Fire Engines, Buckets, Communion Trays, Tubing for Ventilation, Heating Apparatus for Deaf Persons, Bells, Police Staves, Life Preservers, Railway Conversation Tubes, Miners' Caps, Thread, &c., Official Seals, &c., Powder Flasks, &c. &c.

The Gutta Percha Company, Patentees, 18, Wharf-road, City-road.

METROPOLITAN COUNTIES and GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 27, Regent-street, Waterloo-place, London.

DIRECTORS.

Samuel Driver, Esq. John Griffith Frith, Esq. Henry Peter Fuller, Esq. John Falk Griffin, Esq. Peter Hood, Esq. Capt. Hon. G. F. Hotham, R.N. Thomas Littledale, Esq. Edward Lomas, Esq. Samuel Miller, Esq. Edward Vansittart Neale, Esq. Sir Thomas N. Reeve. William Studley, Esq.

Life Assurances, Annuities, and Endowments. Three-fourths of profits divided amongst the assured.—Prospectuses, post free, on application. F. FERGUSON CAMROUX, Manager.

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Every description of Life Assurance business transacted. Loans granted on personal and other securities.

Detailed Prospectuses, containing the names and addresses of nearly seven hundred shareholders, rates of premium, an explanation of the system now operative, or holders of five shares and upwards will be entitled to nominate scholars to the endowed schools of the Society.

Parties desirous of becoming Agents or Medical Referees are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

By order of the Board, THOMAS H. BAYLIS. Offices: 40, Pall-mall, London.

IMPORTANT TO LIFE ASSURERS. NATIONAL PROVINCIAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Completely Registered and Incorporated. Capital £20,000 in 10,000 shares of £5 each. Deposit £1 per share. Offices, 34, Moorgate-street, Bank, London.

John Hinde Palmer, Esq. William Anthony Purnell, Esq. Thomas Winkworth, Esq. John Poole, Esq.

Persons assured in this Office to the extent of £300 and upwards will be entitled to participate in the profits of the Society, and upwards will be entitled to nominate scholars to the endowed schools of the Society.

Every description of Life Assurance business transacted. Prospectuses and every information may be obtained at the Offices of the Society.

Applications for agencies requested. By order of the Board, J. W. SPRAGUE, Manager.

RECIPROCAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

33, Great Cornam-street, Russell-square. Capital—£100,000, in 20,000 Shares of £5 each. Deposit, 10s. per Share.

One-tenth of the profits of the Company will form a fund for the relief of aged and distressed Shareholders and Members, their Widows and Orphans.

T. A. Knight, Esq. R. Marshall, Esq., M.A. J. Mosely, Esq., B.C.L. Reverend C. Owen, M.A. F. C. Skey, Esq., F.R.S.

This Company is established for the purpose of bringing the benefits of Life Assurance within the reach of all classes, and with this view its details have been most carefully considered, so as to afford every facility and advantage consistent with safety. Three-fifths of the Profits being annually divided among those members who have paid five annual premiums.

The Business of the Company embraces Assurances, Annuities, and Endowments of every kind; also Annuities payable During Sickness; Assurances of Leasehold, Copyholds, and other Terminable Interests; and Guarantee Assurances for the Fidelity of persons in places of Trust.

Every further information may be had on application to the Actuary and Resident Director.

Special Advantages To Assurers. Policies will be granted for any sum as low as £5. No Policy Stamp, Entrance Fee, or other charge, except the Premium.

Policies indisputable, except in cases of actual fraud. Diseased and Declined Lives assured at equitable and moderate rates.

Premiums may be paid Quarterly or Monthly if desired. Half the Premium, for the first seven years, may remain unpaid.

Every further information may be had on application to the Actuary and Resident Director.

EAGLE INSURANCE COMPANY,

Established by Act of Parliament 53 Geo. III., and Regulated by Deed Enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, 5, Crescent, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars.

The Honourable John Chetwynd Talbot, Q.C., Chairman. Walter Anderson Peacock, Esq., Deputy Chairman. Charles Bischoff, Esq. Thomas Boddington, Esq. Richard Harman Lloyd, Esq. Thomas Devas, Esq. Joshua Lockwood, Esq. Nathaniel Gould, Esq. Ralph Charles Price, Esq. Robert Alexander Gray, Esq. William Wybrow, Esq.

AUDITORS. James Gascoigne Lynde, Esq. Thos. Godfrey Sambrooke, Esq.

George Leith Roupell, M.D., F.R.S., 15, Welbeck-street.

James Saner, Esq., M.D., Finsbury-square. William Cooke, Esq., M.D., 39, Trinity-square, Tower-hill. Actuary and Secretary—Charles Jellicoe, Esq.

The Assured have received from this Company, in satisfaction of their claims, upwards of £1,200,000.

The Amount at present Assured is £3,600,000 nearly, and the income of the Company is about £125,500.

At the last Division of Surplus about £100,000 was added to the sums assured under policies for the whole term of life.

The Division is Quinquennial, and the whole surplus, less 20 per cent. only, is distributed amongst the assured.

The lives assured are permitted in time of peace to reside in any country, or to pass by sea (not being seafaring persons by profession) between any two parts of the same hemisphere distant more than 33 degrees from the equator, without extra charge.

Deeds assigning policies are registered at the office, and assignments can be effected on forms supplied therefrom.

The business of the Company is conducted on just and liberal principles, and the interests of the assured in all particulars are carefully consulted.

The Annual Reports of the Company's state and progress, prospectuses and forms, may be had, or will be sent post free on application.

THE GREAT WESTERN AND FOREST OF DEAN COAL COMPANY.

CAPITAL, £25,000.
In Shares, of £1 each—paid-up.
Provisionally registered pursuant to 7th and 8th Vict. cap. 110.
Temporary Office—No. 3, Bridge-street, Westminster.

Colonel Salway, M.P., Egham-park, Surrey.
James Harmer, Esq., Ingress-park, Greenwich, Kent.

This Company is formed for the purpose of working a Coal Field, situate in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, and held by the present Proprietors under a grant direct from the Crown, comprising an area of about one hundred and fifty Acres, and contains five Seams of Coal, of fifteen feet in thickness, three of which it is proposed to work, which will produce upwards of three million and a half Tons of Coal.

One of the Seams alluded to produces Cannel Coal, of which there is a large compass in the Gas Works, London, and other places. The other two Seams are already in great demand, both in the Provincial and Foreign Markets; large quantities being consumed by the Steam Engines of West Gloucestershire, the Cotton Mills and Gas Works of Bristol, and the Iron Furnaces of the surrounding districts. Immense supplies are shipped from Lydney, under the well-known title of "Forest Wall's End"—a coal equal in quality to the best Newcastle.

Specimens of the various Seams of Coal from the Forest of Dean have been sent to the Exhibition in Hyde-park by Mr. Atkinson, one of her Majesty's Deputy Gavellees of the Forest.

The nature and capabilities of this Coal Field have long been known, and, in the immediate neighbourhood, made available. Hitherto, the want of Railway Communication has kept the productions of this Field out of the London Market. The difficulty of transport is now obviated; a Branch of the Great Western Railway, six miles in extent, is about to be carried through this very Coal Field, and will pass close to the intended Pit's Mouth.

This Company will, therefore, be able to afford the means of supplying with the best fuel, and at a cheaper rate than ever yet offered, not only London, but its Foundries, Gas Works, and Steam Mills, but also the Towns and Villages on the line of the Great Western Railway. Amongst the places which can be so supplied may be named, Gloucester, Cheltenham, Stonehouse, Stroud, Brimscombe, Cirencester, Tetbury, Swindon, Farringdon, Wantage, Abingdon, Oxford, Woodstock, Wallingford, Newbury, Goring, Pangbourne, Basingstoke, Reading, High Wycombe, Great Marlow, Maidenhead, Egham, Windsor, Slough, Uxbridge, Colnbrook, and the Port of Southampton with its large fleet of ocean steamers.

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR SHARES. GREAT WESTERN AND FOREST OF DEAN COAL COMPANY.

Gentlemen,—I request you to allot me Shares in the above Company, and I agree to accept the same, or any lesser number that may be allotted to me, to pay the sum of £1 per Share, and to sign the Deed of Settlement when the same shall be ready for execution.

Name
Address
Business
Reference
Address of Reference

Dated this day of

To the Provisional Directors of the above-mentioned Company.
Prospectuses may be obtained of, and application for the remaining shares addressed to the Secretary, at the offices, as above; or to the Solicitors to the Company, Messrs. Coombe and Nicoll; Messrs. Lind and Rickard, stockbrokers, 3, Bank Chambers, Lombury; and of the following agents: Henry Daryll, Esq., stockbroker, Clare-street, Gloucester; G. F. Wilkes, Esq., solicitor, Liverpool; Messrs. Lowe and Sons, stockbrokers, Plymouth; J. B. Wilcocks, Esq., Barbican; Windsor; Henry Daryll, Esq., solicitor.

By order of the Directors,
HENRY CAPPER, Secretary.

DR. CULVERWELL ON NERVOUSNESS, DEBILITY, AND INDIGESTION: also on Urinary Derangements, Constipation, and Hemorrhoids. Is. each; by post, 1s. 6d.

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID.

"Abstinentia multum curantur morbi."
A popular exposition of the principal causes (over and over again) of the above harassing and distressing complaints, with an equally intelligible and popular exposition of how we should live to get rid of them; to which is added diet tables for every meal in the day, and full instructions for the regimen and observance of every hour out of the twenty-four: illustrated by numerous cases, &c.

Vols. 2 and 3, companion to the preceding,
THE ENJOYMENT OF LIFE. I. HOW TO BE HAPPY.
"Jucunde Vivere."

ON URINARY DISORDERS, CONSTIPATION, AND HÆMORRHOIDS; their Obviation and Removal.

Sherwood, 33, Paternoster-row; Mann, 29, Cornhill; and the Author, 10, Argyl-place, Regent-street: consultation hours, ten to twelve; evenings, seven till nine.

DO YOU WANT BEAUTIFUL AND LUXURANT HAIR, WHISKERS, MOUSTACHES, EYEBROWS, &c.?

THE Immense Public Patronage bestowed upon

Miss ELLEN GRAHAM'S NIOUKRENE, during the last seven years, is sufficient evidence of its amazing properties in reproducing the human hair, whether lost by disease or natural decay, preventing the hair falling off, strengthening weak hair, and checking greyness. It is guaranteed to produce whiskers, moustaches, &c., in three or four weeks, without fail. It is elegantly scented; and sufficient for three months' use will be sent post-free, on receipt of twenty-four postage-stamps, by Miss Ellen Graham, 14, Hand-court, Holborn, London. Unlike all other preparations for the Hair, it is free from artificial colouring and filthy grime, well known to be so injurious to it.

GENUINE TESTIMONIALS.—"I had been bald for years; your Nioukrene has quite restored my hair."—Henry Watkins, Colney, Hertford. "I have used your Nioukrene three weeks, and am happy to inform you that a full moustache is growing."—J. Hammond, Nass, Ireland. "My hair was turning grey rapidly; it has effectually checked it, and I have new hair growing."—K. Elkins, Surgeon. "It is the best nursery preparation I ever used."—Mrs. Rose, Chesham.

For the nursery, Nioukrene is invaluable, its balsamic properties being admirably adapted to infant's hair.

LIQUID HAIR DYE.—The only perfect one extant is Miss Graham's. It is a clear liquid, that changes hair in three minutes to any shade, from jet black to natural, as to defy detection, does not stain the skin, and is free from every objectionable quality. It needs only to be used once, producing a permanent dye for ever. Persons who have been deceived by useless preparations (dangerous to the head, &c.) will find this Dye perfect in every respect, and that "none but itself can be its parallel." Price 3s., sent post-free by post for forty-two postage stamps, by Miss Graham, 14, Hand-court, Holborn, London.

Professor Ryan says:—"Your dye is the only pure and perfect one I have analyzed; the neutral principle is decidedly better than all others."

FREEDOM FROM COUGHS IN TEN MINUTES AFTER USE IS INSURED BY

DR. LOCOCK'S PULMONIC WAFERS.

Another cure of asthma. From Mr. W. Barton, Apothecaries' Hall, Campton:—"An old gentleman, who for years has been afflicted with asthma, and seldom had a quiet night's rest, had used very many proprietary medicines, as well as medical prescriptions, but all were of no use. Since he began to use Dr. Locock's Wafers he feels himself quite well again. He sleeps well at night, and is quite refreshed in the morning. To singers and public speakers they are invaluable for clearing and strengthening the voice. They have a pleasant taste. Also, Dr. Locock's FEMALE WAFERS, the best medicine for females. Have a pleasant taste. Price 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., and 11s. per box. Full directions are given with every box. All pills under similar names are counterfeits."

DEAFNESS—SINGING in the EARS.—

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